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ABSTRACT

The Unwed Fathers Project was designed to draw upon the small but rapidly growing body of knowledge about young fathers up to 25 years of age. The specific project components were 10 working papers commissioned from researchers and program professionals; a 1986 invitational symposium which included policy officials, employees of governments, universities, and service agencies; and a report synthesizing major findings of the commissioned papers and summarizing symposium discussions. The project concluded that: (1) unwed fathers need to be held responsible for their children and, for the most part, should be required to fulfill the minimum obligations of fatherhood; (2) it is generally in the best interests of the children if their fathers develop a personal relationship with them and this should be encouraged; (3) these responsibilities and interests need to be balanced against the rights and needs of the young mothers, family members, and society as a whole; (4) young unwed fathers often need considerable assistance and encouragement to be able to fulfill their parenting responsibilities; (5) increasing job skills and opportunities of young unwed fathers not only benefits their children but society as a whole; and (6) many different sectors of society at national, state, and local levels will need to work together to meet the challenge of encouraging more responsible and involved parenting among unwed fathers. (ABL)

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Young Unwed Fathers:

Research Review, Policy Dilemmas and Options

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Summary Report

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Young Unwed Fathers:

Research Review, Policy Dilemmas and Options

Summary Report

Jacqueline Smollar
Theodora Ooms

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Acknowledgments and Project Background

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The project was a collaboration between researchers at the Family Impact Seminar and Youth Research Center, Catholic University of America (CUA), MAXIMUS, Inc., and the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, HHS. The overall design of the project grew out of this partnership. Theodora Ooms and Jacqueline Smollar (CUA) drafted the specific project design and bore principal responsibility for commissioning the papers and writing the summary report. Patricia Mellen and Phyllis Elliott (MAXIMUS) had primary responsibility for planning and coordinating the symposium held in October 1986. Linda Mellgren (ASPE, Income Security Policy) and Jerry Silverman (ASPE, Social Services Policy) conceptualized the project and gave it its focus, helped articulate the policy issues, provided policy information, and coordinated input from the federal agency advisors.

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Jacqueline Smollar, Ph.D.

Theodora Ooms, M.S.W.

October 1987

Executive Summary

Executive Summary

The Issue

Much public attention has focused on the social costs and consequences of adolescent out-of-wedlock childbearing. Yet for far too long, unwed births have been viewed as a problem solely for young women. Research, programs, and policies have virtually ignored their male partners — the fathers of their babies.

The **Young Unwed Fathers Project** was designed to draw upon the small but rapidly growing body of knowledge about young fathers up to 25 years of age. It set out to answer the following questions:

1. What is known about young unwed fathers' situation, needs, and behavior? How adequate is this knowledge? What else do we need to know?
2. What are the legal and moral responsibilities and rights of young unwed fathers, and how do these relate to the rights of their babies, the young mothers, and their families?
3. How have programs and policies dealt with young unwed fathers, and what explains the relative neglect of this population?
4. What policy and program options might encourage and promote greater paternal responsibility and involvement on the part of young unwed fathers?

Project Design

The purpose of the project was to review, synthesize, and discuss available data and information about young unwed fathers. The specific project components were:

- Ten working papers commissioned from researchers and program professionals.
- An invitational symposium, held in October 1986 in Washington, D.C. Invitees and panelists included the authors of the ten papers, and policy officials and staff from federal, state, and local government, courts, universities, and service programs.
- A report synthesizing major findings of the commissioned papers and summarizing symposium discussions. The report identifies program and policy issues, dilemmas, and options and summarizes the questions needing further research. Commissioned papers are available and can be ordered individually (see page 105 for order form).

Major Findings

1. What is currently known about young unwed fathers?

We know far less about young unwed fathers than about young unwed mothers. The data from national surveys is sparse and of questionable reliability. Information from smallscale studies provides detailed portraits of young fathers, but these findings may not be generalizable to the entire population of unwed fathers. However, enough information is available to dispel the prevailing stereotype.

Data from available studies indicate that young unwed fathers are demographically a heterogeneous group—they come from all regions of the country, and all income and racial groups. While some avoid the responsibilities of fatherhood, others are clearly quite involved with their children, visit them regularly, and provide various kinds of support. As a group, these young unwed fathers tend to be educationally disadvantaged and face poor prospects of employment. The majority live with their parents. But few live with their children.

Black youth who father children outside of marriage are not very different in other respects from their peers who have not become fathers. However, white unwed fathers are more likely than their peers to have histories of socially deviant behavior (drug use, criminal records, etc.).

We know far less about young unwed fathers than about young unwed mothers.

2. What are the legal and moral rights and responsibilities of young unwed fathers?

The legal status of unwed fathers is ambiguous and in transition. Unwed fathers' financial obligations follow from biological parenthood, but their rights—such as to be involved in a decision about adoption—depend upon demonstrations of paternal interest, and not biology. Moreover, their rights to visitation, or even to be informed of their paternity, have not been clearly established by the courts. Further, concern was expressed at the symposium that the rights of minor fathers to adequate legal representation and counsel may need strengthening in paternity proceedings.

It was generally agreed by participants that unwed fathers should be required to fulfill the minimum obligations of fatherhood: legally establishing paternity and paying financial support. In addition, it is generally in the best interests of children themselves to know who their fathers are, to receive financial support from them, and to have the opportunity to have contact with them as they grow up. Yet such a stance may conflict with the wishes of some unwed mothers or their families who do not want any contact from the fathers, or even any financial support.

It was generally agreed by participants that unwed fathers should be required to fulfill the minimum obligations of fatherhood: legally establishing paternity and paying financial support.

3. What are the program and policy findings?

Paternity establishment

The legal establishment of paternity is the first important step to acknowledging paternal responsibility and assuring paternal rights, and is essential for the collection of child support through the official system. However, while many young unwed fathers appear to acknowledge paternity informally, and some put their names on their child's birth certificate, few have their paternity established by the proper legal or administrative procedures.

Many difficult questions remain unresolved: Who should make the decision to pursue paternity? At what time should paternity be legally established, and what are the most effective procedures for doing so? How can young parents and their families be encouraged to establish paternity legally? Why do some young fathers readily acknowledge paternity and others do not? And, what do young people themselves know and believe about the responsibilities of fatherhood?

Child support

Unwed fathers are less likely to pay child support than separated or divorced fathers. In 1985, fewer than 18% of unwed mothers 18 years and older had court-ordered child support arrangements, and only 14% reported that they received any support. For mothers on AFDC, these percentages are even lower.

The reasons for this situation include: the failure to establish paternity; not knowing the whereabouts of the fathers; and the reluctance of the mothers to claim support. It is also significant that many of the health and social service personnel who come into contact with young unwed mothers know very little about paternity establishment and child support, and rarely refer young unwed mothers to the child support authorities.

Unwed fathers are less likely to pay child support than separated or divorced fathers.

Further, since many young fathers are not employed, efforts to collect child support may not seem cost effective in the short term. However, many authorities and individuals are taking the longer view and believe it important to establish a pattern of official child support payments even if they are inkind payments or minimal dollar amounts, in part because the father's income is likely to increase in the future.

AFDC program

The AFDC program is the major source of financial support for large numbers of unwed mothers who are required, as a condition of receiving benefits, to identify, and cooperate in locating, the children's fathers in order that paternity and support proceedings can be initiated. The fact that such a small proportion of unwed mothers on AFDC do, in fact, obtain support awards, indicates there are many barriers — such as those mentioned above — to achieving the required paternal financial responsibility.

Job training and employment programs

It is very clear that many young fathers are not paying child support because they are unemployed and often lack sufficient education or basic skills to obtain jobs. Thus, a major challenge is to find ways to enable and empower these young fathers to be responsible through increasing their opportunities to engage in productive paid work.

Currently, very few employment and training programs have specifically targeted young fathers (more have targeted young mothers). However, in the private and public sectors, there appears to be an increasing interest in doing so. Many questions arise about how young fathers should best be referred to such programs; whether they would need stipends to remain in the program; whether participation would be contingent upon payment of support; and what special services they might need, such as counseling about the rights and obligations of paternity. In addition, there is concern about the equity and incentive effects of giving unwed fathers priority over other unemployed young men.

Adolescent pregnancy and parenting programs

Hundreds of community based programs are providing a range of services to pregnant teenagers and young mothers and their babies. However, these programs are generally not designed to encourage paternal responsibility, and seldom even contact the young fathers. In addition, program staff frequently are not knowledgeable about issues of paternity and child support.

There are a few programs, however, that have been deliberately developed to include young fathers either in their services to young mothers and their families, or in a program designed specifically for them. While further research is needed to determine effective program models and assess the effects of involving young fathers, preliminary evidence suggests that reaching out to young fathers in these ways is helpful to them, the young mothers, and the children.

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Conclusions

The various perspectives represented in the symposium resulted in a number of different options, strategies, and priorities being proposed. In addition, since young unwed fathers differ considerably from one another, a variety of different approaches are clearly needed. Nevertheless, certain conclusions were widely shared among the participants, namely:

1. Unwed fathers need to be held responsible for their children and, for the most part, should be required to fulfill the minimum obligations of fatherhood—namely, legally establishing paternity and paying financial support.
2. It is generally in the best interests of the children if their fathers develop a personal relationship with them and this should be encouraged.
3. These responsibilities and interests need to be balanced against the rights and needs of the young mothers, family members, and society as a whole.
4. Young unwed fathers often need considerable assistance and encouragement to be able to fulfill their parenting responsibilities, including acquiring job skills and being provided with employment opportunities.
5. Increasing the job skills and opportunities of young unwed fathers not only benefits their children but society as a whole. Given the need for skilled workers predicted for the year 2000, the health of our economy requires that these young men be productive.
6. Many different sectors of society at national, state, and local levels will need to work together to meet the challenge of encouraging more responsible and involved parenting among unwed fathers.

Part I: Introduction

Part I: Introduction

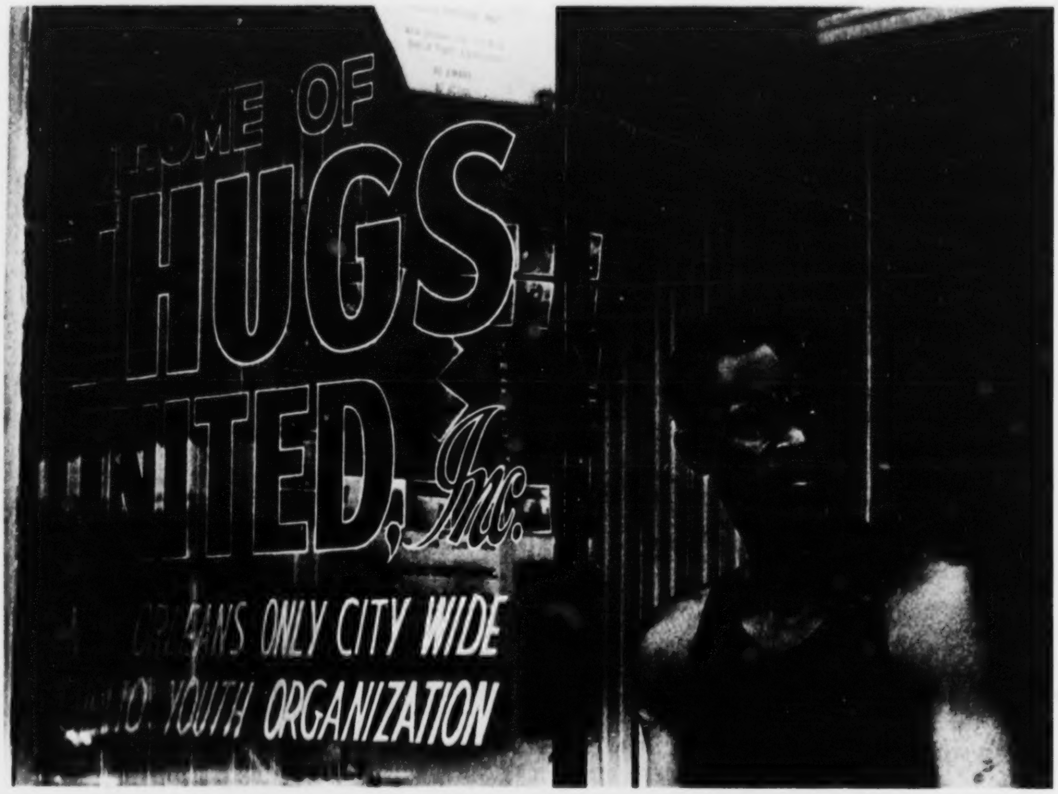
While no one denies their role in causing teen pregnancy, few have examined how young men respond to becoming fathers or consider how to help them meet the responsibilities of fatherhood.

The problems and needs of unwed teenage mothers are receiving increased national attention. Public information campaigns document the negative effects of out-of-wedlock childbearing on young women and their babies and its serious consequences for society. Motherhood changes teenage women's lives in a number of ways. Unlike previous generations, few teen mothers today marry or place their babies for adoption. Thus, most raise their babies themselves, often with the help of their parents and other relatives. Interrupted education, extensive child care responsibilities, and poor employment prospects condemn many to years of dependency on public welfare programs. In recent years federal, state, and local initiatives in the public and private sector have provided many health and welfare services to these young mothers as they struggle to meet the responsibilities of parenthood.

In contrast, their male partners—the fathers of their babies—are largely ignored. Unwed parenthood is not seen to be their problem. Young unwed fathers have rarely been the subject of research. Programs and services are not generally designed to meet their needs or help them fulfill their responsibilities. While no one denies their role in causing teen pregnancy, few have examined how young men respond to becoming fathers or consider how to help them meet the responsibilities of fatherhood.

The Young Unwed Fathers Project was developed as a step toward remedying the widespread neglect of the hundreds of thousands of young unwed fathers who exist in every community in the United States. The project draws on the small but growing body of knowledge and experience with young fathers in order to address the following questions: Who are these unwed fathers? What are they like and how do they behave? Why do they choose not to marry? Are they like the infamous Timothy who, during a nationally televised network documentary, proudly boasted of the six children he had fathered by different women but did not support? Or are they like the less-publicized Michael, who regularly provides diapers, food, and occasionally money and child care for his child even though he is not married to the mother? Most important, do we know if and how these young fathers can be encouraged to fulfill their financial and other responsibilities?

As a society, we may not be able to afford to "write off" these young men, or ignore their employment and educational needs or their role as fathers.



These questions have important implications for public policy. There is growing evidence that young unwed parenthood is no longer just a problem for individuals and their families: it affects public budgets as well. In 1985, teenage childbearing cost state and federal governments approximately 17 billion dollars in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and food stamps (Burt, 1986). Moreover, the economic consequences of unwed parenthood may not be limited to health and welfare costs. The Report of the Work Force 2000 (Department of Labor, 1986) points out that our society faces the possibility of a future in which there are more jobs available than there are workers with the necessary skills to fill the jobs. In order to reduce the risk of this scenario, officials in the Department of Labor have suggested that society must focus attention now on educating and training youth for the needs of the job markets of the future.

Young unwed fathers, and their children, are part of the work force of the future. As a society, we may not be able to afford to "write off" these young men, or ignore their employment and educational needs or their role as fathers. Instead, we need to find ways to encourage them to assume their responsibilities as fathers and as citizens so that they and their children are prepared for the future.

The Scope of the Problem

Any discussion of adolescent parenthood must begin with a description of the scope of the problem. Data on birthrates for teenage mothers are available from the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS, 1987). Some of the statistics available for 1985 are presented below.

- There were 3,760,561 registered live births in the United States. Of these births, 828,174 (22%) were to unmarried women.
- There were 299,696 births to women 18 and 19 years of age. Of these births, 151,991 (51%) were to unmarried women.
- There were 178,009 births to women under 18 years of age. Of these, 128,317 (72%) were to unmarried women.
- There were 322,826 births to white (includes Hispanic) teens under 20 years of age in 1985. Of these births 145,551, (45%) were to unmarried women.
- There were 140,130 births to black women under 20. Of these births, 126,161 (90%) were to unmarried women.
- Most births to teenagers occur in urban and suburban areas. However, about 23% of nonmarital births and 35% of marital births occur in rural areas.
- From 1975 to 1985 the birth rate for 10-14 year olds remained the same (1.2 live births per 1,000 women in this age group). Birth rates for all women 15 to 19 years of age dropped about 8%, from 55.6 to 51.3 live births per 1,000 women. The drop for women 15-17 was more substantial than the drop for women 18-19, 14% and 5%, respectively.
- While both birth rates and the number of births to teenagers have decreased during the last decade, pregnancy rates have increased. The number of pregnancies has remained around 1 million per year but the estimated rate per 1000 women ages 15 to 19 increased from 94 in 1972 to 109 in 1984. In 1982 and 1984, about 47% of these pregnancies resulted in live births.

While the percentage of births to unmarried mothers is actually quite small when compared to the total number of births to all women (7.5%), there are substantial numbers of young women bearing children out-of-wedlock each year (280,308 out-of-wedlock births to women under 20 in 1985). Of the 1 million women below the age of 20 years who are mothers, about 600,000 were unmarried at the birth of their first child.

Comparable data on teenage fathers are not available. According to NCHS data for 1985, information on the age of fathers is missing from 38% of birth certificates for children born to women 19 and under. If one assumes that data on the father most likely appears when a birth occurs within marriage, then a majority (65%) of the birth certificates for nonmarital births to women under 20 do not provide information about the father. Therefore, tabulations about the father's age from NCHS data are not reliable for this age group.

Some data are available from the National Longitudinal Study of Labor Force Behavior of Youth (NLS) (Department of Labor, 1979 to present). These data are not directly comparable, however, because the 1984 data are for young men age 19 to 26 years, and the age of the mothers at the time of the births of the babies is not known. One analysis of the NLS data reported that, of the 6,400 males in the sample, 5.7% said they had fathered a child prior to 19 years of age (Elster, Appendix A). In another analysis of the NLS, sample data was used to generate estimates of unwed fatherhood among men ages 19 to 26 in 1984. Of white, black and Hispanic men in this age category, 1,112,603 (7%) reported ever being unwed fathers. Of the population of all black males in that category, 598,670 (27%) were ever-unwed fathers. For Hispanic males, 93,671 (10%) were ever-unwed fathers, while for white males 420,262 (3%) were ever-unwed fathers. While more than a third of these ever-unwed fathers had married by 1984 (although not necessarily to the mother of their child), this was more likely to be true for white and Hispanic unwed fathers (49% and 44% respectively) than for black unwed fathers (24%). (Lerman, Appendix A)

Of the 1 million women below the age of 20 years who are mothers, about 600,000 were unmarried at the birth of their first child.

Young unwed parenthood is all too frequently a "one-way ticket to poverty."

The Costs of the Problem

While the social stigma of being a young unwed mother is not as great as it once was, the general climate of social acceptance does not preclude other costs to the mothers or to society. As Health and Human Services (HHS) Secretary Otis R. Bowen and others have noted, young unwed parenthood is all too frequently a "one-way ticket to poverty." Teenagers, in general, are usually unable to earn enough money to support a child. And for unwed teenage mothers, employment prospects are particularly poor since many do not complete their education, having dropped out of school either prior to, or after, their pregnancies (Moore and Burt, 1982).

Young mothers, then, compared to their peers who do not become mothers prematurely, tend to be educationally disadvantaged compared to their peers, with poor prospects for employment. It is, thus, not surprising that adolescent mothers constitute a disproportionate part of the "welfare problem." They are more likely to receive federal welfare assistance and continue in longterm dependency than women who have their first child at a later age (Ellwood, 1986). In 1985, the total budget for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was $15.69 billion. Of this, $8.32 billion was expended to mothers who had their first child as a teenager (Burt, 1986). In addition, in the same year, these mothers received $3.4 billion in Food Stamps and $4.9 billion in Medicaid. (NOTE: These calculations include all women who had their first birth as a teenager, including women who were married at the time of that birth.)

One factor contributing to the high rates of poverty and welfare dependency among unwed mothers is that unwed fathers are much less likely to pay child support than divorced or separated fathers (Lerman, Appendix A). Recent statistics indicate that slightly more than 18% of unwed mothers 18 years of age and older have court-ordered child support as compared to 82% of divorced, and 43% of separated, mothers. About 14% of unwed mothers reported that they actually received any support from their children's fathers. Unwed mothers receiving welfare are even less likely to have an award or receive support than unwed mothers who are not receiving welfare benefits (Bureau of the Census, 1987). (NOTE: Statistics for child support for women under 18 years of age are not available.)

Policy Response

Over the past two decades, the policy response by federal, state, and local governments to the problem of unwed parenthood has primarily targeted the pregnant teenager and teen mother through income support (AFDC), health and social service programs, and education, training, and employment programs. Private organizations have also focused almost exclusively on the young mothers in their efforts to address the problems of young unwed parenthood.

Many young fathers are concerned about their children, want to learn how to be better parents, and are providing cash and non-monetary support to their families.

There has been no specific federal policy response to young unwed fathers, although a few programs provide limited services to this population. The Child Support Enforcement program helps states improve the collection of child support from absent parents, regardless of their age and marital status. The Job Training and Partnership Act, under Title II, specifically identified disadvantaged youth as a target for employment, training, and education services. (See Appendix B for more information on these programs.) But neither of these federal programs target services to young unwed fathers. In fact, routine program statistical records for the Child Support Enforcement program provide no demographic information such as age on either the custodial or absent parent and those for JTPA do not indicate whether the young males being served are married and/or have children. This makes it impossible to determine how many young unwed fathers are affected by these federal programs.

There has been widespread neglect of young unwed fathers in the social service arena as well. Until quite recently, the general view held of young unwed fathers by professionals in the social service fields could be summarized as follows: The male partners of teen mothers are not clearly identifiable. Often they are reluctant to come forth and admit paternity. They are immature, and the relationships with their partners are unstable and often have deteriorated by the time the child is born. Marriage is generally not considered to be a good solution by any of the parties involved. Because they are most often unemployed, these young fathers have few resources to offer the mother and baby.

In the past few years, however, these impressions of young unwed fathers have been challenged by the findings of researchers who have interviewed and observed young fathers, and by the experiences of personnel in the few projects specifically designed to meet the needs of this population. Many young fathers are concerned about their children, want to learn how to be better parents, and are providing cash and nonmonetary support to their families. These recent findings strongly suggest a need to reexamine current policy and program assumptions about this population, and served as an impetus for the development and design of the Young Unwed Fathers Project.

Origins and Design of the Young Unwed Fathers Project

The Young Unwed Fathers Project was designed to explore existing and developing knowledge and expertise about young fathers through a forum allowing exchange among multiple disciplines, professions, and perspectives. An assumption basic to the project's design was that the problem of young unwed fathers encompasses many issues that are interrelated and cannot be successfully dealt with from a unilateral perspective. The primary goal of the project was to increase awareness of the diversity of the issues, and the need for a broad perspective, an integrated approach, and a cooperative effort by all sectors of society.

The principle components of the project were:

- Ten working papers commissioned from researchers and program professionals on various aspects of young unwed fathers and presented and discussed at the symposium (see Appendix A for a list and summary of commissioned papers).
- A two-and-a-half day invitational symposium held in October 1986 in Washington, D.C., including participants from different parts of the country and representing diverse professional and program interests (see Appendix E for a list of participants);
- A report synthesizing the conference discussions, commissioned papers, and other relevant research.

Project Focus: Definitions and Assumptions

The focus of the project was young unwed fathers from approximately age 14 through 25 years. This age group encompasses the majority of male partners of teenage mothers (NCHS, 1986). While the principal concern was with *unwed* fathers, many of this group's needs and problems are shared by young fathers who marry the mothers of their children (Elster, Appendix A). Hence, some of the project findings and discussions apply to all young fathers, married or unmarried.

The assumptions underlying the project design were: (1) that public policy should, at a minimum, expect and require unwed fathers to fulfill the basic obligation of child support; and (2) that public policy and private programs should encourage young unwed fathers to be actively involved in parenthood in other ways as well.

For the purposes of this project, paternal involvement was conceptualized as covering a wide range of activities including:

- paternity establishment;
- child support payments — either in dollars or inkind services;
- involvement in school, training, or work to improve the likelihood of financial responsibility and child support;
- personal contact between father and child, including regular visits, occasional or regular child care, and even shelter; and
- marriage to the mother if the relationship warrants it.

Key Questions Addressed

The commissioned papers and panel discussions addressed several key questions which served as the subjects of discussion and debate during the course of the symposium.

1. What do we know about unwed fathers? Who are they, and how do they behave?
2. How adequate is our information on young unwed fathers? What more do we need to know?
3. What is being learned from programs that target young fathers about how they can be encouraged to be more involved in fathering?
4. How are unmarried young fathers treated by public programs and policies, specifically the child support enforcement systems, employment, training, and education programs, and programs that provide comprehensive services to teenage mothers?
5. What are the legal and moral rights and responsibilities of young unwed fathers? How do these relate to the rights of their children and the young mothers?
6. What are the implications of this knowledge and experience for current policy? What are some of the attitudinal, programmatic, and policy barriers that young unwed fathers may face? What should, and can, be done to promote greater involvement of young unwed fathers in all aspects of parenting?

Outline of Report

The next two sections of this report summarize the proceedings of the symposium, drawing on the presented papers, panel discussions, and the verbal exchanges of the participants. Part II focuses on the information available about young unwed fathers and the relevant policy issues. In Part III, the program and policy dilemmas and challenges that follow from these issues are reviewed. Part IV provides a summary of policy, program, and research ideas suggested by symposium participants. Part V summarizes the major findings of the project, and the Appendices include summaries of the working papers and descriptions of relevant federal programs.

Part II:
Information and Issues

Part II: Information and Issues

Professionals from diverse backgrounds, and with a range of interests and concerns about young unwed fathers, gathered to share their expertise and opinions at the symposium. Extensive discussions and lively debates ensued. This section of the report focuses on the discussions and debates pertaining to such questions as: Why do we want to know about young unwed fathers? What is currently known about the young fathers we are attempting to reach? How reliable and complete is our information? and, What are the concerns relevant to young unwed fatherhood?

Much of what is reported in this section reflects the fundamental tension that emerged as symposium participants expressed diverse opinions and perspectives toward the issue of young unwed fatherhood. This was not a consensus meeting and many of the statements noted in the report should not be regarded as "facts," or as representing the judgments either of project staff or of all symposium participants.

In several instances, statements were made without statistical backup or reference to published information. These are included in the report, however, because they are representative of participants' attitudes and views regarding particular issues and, thus, serve to promote the principal goals of the project—i.e, increasing communication among all the professional disciplines concerned with this problem, and enhancing awareness of a need for an informed, integrative, and cooperative approach to the problem.

There is an additional point to keep in mind in reviewing this summary. Although the project was not designed to focus on the prevention of unwed parenthood, this issue was on the minds of many of the participants. Where comments about prevention related to paternity, child support, and employment policies, they have been included in the summary. However, many other prevention-related issues are not dealt with in this report. This exclusion is intended to maintain the focus on unwed parenthood while recognizing that prevention is one of the major issues that society will need to address.

Finally, statements contributed by authors of commissioned papers are attributed to those authors. All other quotations and statements of opinion are not attributed to participants by name. However, information identifying the professional affiliation of the participant making the statements is often provided.

Information

Symposium participants began their study of young unwed fathers by considering why we want to know about them, the current status of our information, and the data that are available.

Why do we want to know about young unwed fathers?

Three perspectives were expressed as to why information about young unwed fathers is needed.

Society needs relief from the burden of public support for the children of young unwed fathers.

As an official from a federal agency in HHS noted, "AFDC is increasing dramatically in the under 20 age bracket. Society needs some answers now!" Symposium participants generally agreed that information about young unwed fathers would help in the development of policies and programs designed to increase the financial contribution of these young men to the support of their children.

Information relevant to this concern would need to focus on: (1) how motivated young unwed fathers are to support their children; (2) how able they are to support their children; and (3) what their needs are with respect to their ability to support their children?

Children need the personal as well as financial participation of their fathers in their lives.

Several symposium participants agreed with the comment of a Department of Social Services staff member that: "Our concern is not just with what's in the best interests of society, but also with what's in the best interests of the child." Information about young unwed fathers was considered important to these participants because it would help in the development of programs and policies that would promote the personal involvement of these men in the lives of their children. Studies have found that children raised in singlemother households benefit considerably from having regular contact with their absent father (Furstenberg, et al., 1987).

To accomplish this goal, several questions need to be addressed: (1) How does an unwed father's personal involvement affect his child's psychosocial development? (2) How motivated are young unwed fathers to be personally involved with their children? and (3) What barriers do young unwed fathers face to becoming personally involved with their children?

Young unwed fathers need to feel that they can be effective in their role as fathers, both financially and personally.

A participant from a private nonprofit organization expressed the opinion that "empowerment and enablement is what is needed for these young men." Other participants shared this view, suggesting that the creation of programs and policies designed to help these young men develop positive self-concepts is another potential outcome of gathering information about them.

Information relevant to this goal would include: (1) how young unwed fathers perceive themselves as fathers; (2) what fatherhood means to these young men and to their female partners; and (3) what programs and policies can do to promote positive self-concepts among these young men.

Young men are more difficult than their female counterparts to include in survey research because they are more difficult to find and, when found, are less willing to participate in the research.

What is the status of our information on this population?

During the symposium, several papers and discussions dealt with the question of the amount of information available, its adequacy, and its accuracy.

There are some major gaps in our knowledge about young unwed fathers.

There was a consensus among participants that "we don't know nearly as much about the fathers as we do about the mothers." Several observations were offered to point up this fact.

- Out of 85 data sets in the Data Archives on Adolescent Pregnancy and Pregnancy Prevention (DAAPPP), only 10 include males in their samples, and only 7 sample young unwed fathers (Card, Appendix A).
- As two government researchers pointed out, young men, in general, are more difficult than their female counterparts to include in survey research because they are more difficult to find and, when found, are less willing to participate in the research.
- Surveys sponsored by the U.S. Census Bureau are not adequately sampling young unwed fathers either because they are designed for households rather than individuals (as with the Current Population Surveys), or because they do not ask questions pertaining to the parenthood of unmarried individuals under 18 years of age.
- There has been far less research on the psychosocial characteristics of young unwed fathers than there has been on these aspects of young unwed mothers (Elster, Appendix A).
- However, several new national studies are underway that will provide additional information on unwed fathers. (See Appendix C, NICHD)

The information we have about young unwed fathers from survey research is of questionable reliability.

Participants experienced in analyzing survey data collected from men expressed agreement with one government researcher who noted, "When we include men in a national survey, what we often end up with is a representative sample of unreliable responses." Apparently, the information that men provide regarding their marital and fertility histories does not correspond to similar information reported by women.

For example, with respect to fertility histories, in the Current Population Survey of June 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau), 5.7 million women said they had children needing support from absent fathers, while only 3.2 million men said they had children living elsewhere. In the NLS of Youth, unmarried females reported having almost two times as many children as did unmarried males. Married males and females did not differ in their reports of this information, however. The "underreporting" of children by unmarried males was considerably higher among white and Hispanic men than among black men (Lerman, Appendix A).

The lack of accuracy of survey data was attributed to a variety of reasons.

One researcher at the symposium noted that the young men he interviewed found it "easier to talk about their criminal activity than about their families" (Sullivan, Appendix A). For some men, questions about marital and fertility history may be seen as too personal to respond to correctly. Other participants suggested that men may fear being held financially accountable for children they do not support, or, in some cases, men may be unaware of their fatherhood status. Finally, a few researchers experienced with survey data noted that responses attributed to men in many surveys are often given by female members of the family acting as proxies. These women may be mothers or wives who may not know the fertility history of the males they are responding for.

The information we have from smallscale research investigations may not be valid for the general population of young unwed fathers.

Research on the psychosocial characteristics of young unwed fathers is often done on samples of fathers who accompany their female partners to social service or health care agencies during pregnancy or shortly after the births of their children. While these studies offer important information about young unwed fathers, the samples may not be representative of the general population of these young men. In fact, two researchers from federal agencies noted that approximately 40% of unwed mothers report having no contact with the fathers of their children.

Most of what we do know about young unwed fathers comes from two major sources.

While acknowledging the problems inherent in survey and research data, one researcher commented that "some number is better than no number!" Most of the available numbers come from the NLS of Youth (Lerman, Appendix A) which provides data on the marital and fertility histories of over 12,000 young people, 6,400 of whom are males, from 1979 to the present. The NLS was designed to allow population estimates to be computed from sample data, and to oversample minority youth. In 1979, the subjects in the sample were between the ages of 14 and 24 years.

Clinical information about the psychological, emotional, and developmental needs and characteristics of young unwed fathers is available from several studies of samples ranging in size from 10 to 150 subjects (Elster, Appendix A). While the generalizability of this information has not been established, it does offer a wealth of insights into at least some of the young men who make up the population of young unwed fathers.

The information that men provide regarding their marital and fertility histories does not correspond to similar information reported by women.

What do we know about young unwed fathers?

Despite the scarcity and questionable accuracy of information, researchers, program personnel, and other symposium participants provided important information about the characteristics of this population.

Young unwed fathers come from all racial and ethnic backgrounds; from all socio-economic strata of society; and from rural, urban, and suburban communities.

Young unwed fathers are demographically heterogeneous.

The findings of studies reported at the symposium supported the statement of one participant that "young unwed fathers are not a monolith." Young unwed fathers come from all racial and ethnic backgrounds; from all socioeconomic strata of society; and from rural, urban, and suburban communities (Elster, Lerman, Leitch & Gonzalez, Sander, Appendix A).

NLS data indicate that young men who are from low income families, and/or who are black, are disproportionately represented in the population. For example, while only 4.4% of all young men between the ages of 19 and 26 in 1984 were never-married fathers, 20% of black young men in this age bracket were never-married fathers. However, as noted above, underreporting of existing children was considerably higher among white, never-married young men than among black, never-married young men (Lerman, Appendix A). In addition, NLS data indicate that coming from a family that received welfare in 1979 was a strong predictor of whether a young man was a never-married father in 1984 (Lerman, Appendix A).

It is also important to note that not all partners of teen mothers are themselves teenagers. NCHS data for 1985 suggest that only about 18% of the male partners of teen mothers are under 20 years of age. Another 35% of partners of teen mothers are 20 to 24 years of age. However, this information includes married as well as unmarried births, and is only available for 62% of the births to mothers under 20 years of age (NCHS, 1987).

Young unwed fathers vary considerably with respect to their psychosocial characteristics.

Information on the histories of drug and alcohol use, criminal activity, and patterns of behavior disorder among young unwed fathers suggest that this population varies extensively with regard to these variables (Elster, Lerman, Appendix A). As one researcher noted, there appear to be two distinct groups of young unwed fathers, "one with relatively severe conduct problems, and the other who appear developmentally appropriate" (Elster, Appendix A).

White, young unwed fathers exhibit greater behavioral differences from their nonfather peers than do black or Hispanic unwed fathers.

In attempting to provide a clearer picture of the population of young unwed fathers, one researcher posed the question: "Are young unwed fathers identifiable, or just unlucky?" That is, is there a clustering of factors that identify these young men as distinct from their peers who do not become fathers?

While the data are not definitive, there is some evidence that young unwed fathers, particularly white young unwed fathers may be distinguished from their non-father peers. White unwed fathers have been found to be more likely than their peers who are not fathers to have histories of drug use, criminal behavior, and depressed educational achievement (Elster, Lerman, Appendix A). While black and Hispanic fathers also may have histories of drug use, criminal behavior, and depressed educational achievement, these factors do not differentiate them as significantly from black or Hispanic young men who are not fathers (Lerman, Appendix A).

One researcher at the symposium also cited the results of an unidentified study showing that young unwed fathers differ from their peers who are not fathers in that their lives tend to be characterized by a "fair amount of chaos" to begin with, and that they viewed fatherhood as just another accident of life. Nonfathers, in contrast, viewed themselves as having more control over their lives, and perceived fatherhood as being more disruptive to their goals and lifestyles. However, the ethnic background of the young men included in this study was not cited.

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Young, unwed fathers are involved in a variety of living arrangements.

According to NLS data for 1984, among 19 to 26-year-old never-married fathers, approximately 80% are not living with their children, 54% were living with at least one of their parents, 10% were living with other relatives, and 12% were living with a partner of the opposite sex. Black never-married fathers were more likely than white never-married fathers to be living with a parent (59% vs. 43% respectively) (Lerman, Appendix A).

In a smallerscale study reported on at the symposium, out of 395 young unwed fathers ages 15 to 19 seen at social service agencies, 18% lived with the mother of their child, 67.2% lived with close relatives, and 3.8% lived alone (Sander, Appendix A).

Young unwed fathers differ in the extent of their involvement with their children.

Contrary to what may be a general stereotype of young unwed fathers, several participants noted that many are not "hit and run victimizers of the women they impregnate" (Elster, Leitch and Gonzalez, Sander, Appendix A). Many of the young unwed fathers interviewed or observed in clinical studies were strongly committed and involved as fathers. These fathers often had long-term relationships with their female partners prior to the pregnancy and continued to be involved during pregnancy and after childbirth (Elster, Sander, Appendix A).

The data from the NLS indicate that in 1984, 80% of young unwed fathers ages 19 to 26 lived away from at least one of their children. But over onehalf of these fathers lived within ten miles of their children and visited them at least once a week. Of the fathers who regularly visited their children, about 50% reported making child support payments. White unwed fathers were more likely than black or Hispanic unwed fathers to live far away from their children (Lerman, Appendix A).

NLS data also show that white and Hispanic unwed fathers are more likely to eventually marry the mothers of at least one of their children than are black unwed fathers. Thus, as one researcher noted, "Unwed fatherhood is largely a temporary experience for young white and Hispanic men, but is of longterm importance for most young blacks" (Lerman, Appendix A).

Young unwed fathers tend to be an educationally disadvantaged population.

One official from a federal agency noted, "The consequence of depressed educational achievement is almost always one of teen parenthood." However, as several participants pointed out, depressed educational achievement may also be viewed as a consequence of young unwed parenthood, since some mothers and fathers may drop out of school to care for their children or to seek employment.

With respect to young unwed fathers, there appears to be some evidence that these young men have a history of poor performance in school, or drop out of school prior to parenthood (Elster, Lerman, Sklar, Appendix A). One common denominator among this population, for example, is a deficiency in basic academic skills (Lerman). Thus, regardless of whether the educational problems faced by these young men are a cause or a consequence of unwed parenthood, they are, in general, an educationally deficient population.

Regardless of whether the educational problems faced by these young men are a cause or a consequence of unwed parenthood, they are, in general, an educationally deficient population.

Young unwed fathers face poor prospects for adequate employment.

Although symposium participants generally agreed that young unwed fathers had poor prospects for adequate employment, there was less consensus as to whether employment difficulties were a cause or a consequence of young unwed fatherhood.

A few participants suggested that the educational disadvantages experienced by these young men as well as their perceptions of their available employment opportunities, created a situation in which they felt there was no reason for them to delay parenthood. One analysis of NLS data questioned this assumption, however. This analysis found that the general availability of jobs (measured by county unemployment rates), did not seem to have a significant impact on whether males will be unwed fathers or not (Lerman, Appendix A).

Poor employment prospects were also suggested as being a major reason why so many births to teenage mothers are occurring outside of marriage. Young mothers have little incentive to marry the fathers of their babies if the fathers cannot provide economic support and if marriage may prevent the mothers' eligibility for AFDC (Connor, Elster, Sklar, Appendix A). This does not imply that young unwed parenthood is necessarily occurring because of available support from AFDC. In fact, an analysis of NLS data found that "in no case did high relative welfare benefits exert a significant impact on the rate of unwed fatherhood" (Lerman, Appendix A).

Issues

Following the discussion regarding information about young unwed fathers, symposium participants turned their attention to the issues relevant to policy and program development and implementation. The ensuing debates were framed by several questions: What are the concerns relevant to this population? How are these concerns being addressed? and, How effective are these efforts?

What are the major concerns?

There was a concern that young unwed fathers legally establish paternity for their children.

Symposium participants generally agreed that there is a need for policies and programs to encourage young unwed fathers to legally establish paternity for their children. Depending upon program and professional interests, however, participants varied as to why they felt legal paternity establishment was important. Some of the primary reasons stated were:

- **State/federal fiscal relief:** Legal paternity is a necessary step to obtaining court-ordered child support.
- **Fathers' rights:** Fathers who establish paternity legally have a basis for asserting their rights vis-a-vis their children with respect to visitation, adoption, and custody decisions.
- **Children's interests:** Legal paternity permits children to have knowledge of the identity of their fathers, allows them access to social security or military benefits that may be due them through their fathers, provides them with the opportunity to seek important medical information about their fathers, and, if followed by support payments, enhances their economic situations.

Young mothers have little incentive to marry the fathers of their babies if the fathers cannot provide economic support and if marriage may prevent the mothers' eligibility for AFDC.

There was a concern that young unwed fathers assume their responsibilities for their children.

An attorney at the symposium noted that: "Fatherhood is a special privilege with special responsibilities." The majority of symposium participants shared this view, and felt that encouraging and aiding young unwed fathers to assume their responsibilities was a critical task for policies and programs. There was less consensus, however, as to what responsibilities should be emphasized by these programs and policies.

The basis for disagreement centered on whether financial responsibilities or personal responsibilities should have priority. Proponents of the "financial responsibility" perspective noted that child support payments by the father would relieve society of the financial burden of caring for the children, increase the resources available to the children, and help lift many of them out of poverty and welfare dependency.

While acknowledging the importance of financial support, other participants suggested that the personal involvement of fathers through child care, personal contact, and emotional bonding may be of even greater significance to the psychosocial development of the child. As one panelist remarked: "Some of what fathers do cannot be quantified; the factor we are talking about here is love."

"Some of what fathers do cannot be quantified; the factor we are talking about here is love."

There was a concern that attention be given to the rights of young unwed fathers as well as to their responsibilities.

One author commented: "It would be odd—would it not—if the father were the bearer of responsibilities, but not the beneficiary of any rights" (Harris, Appendix A). However, as several participants noted, the rights of young unwed fathers with regard to their children have not been clearly established. According to recent Supreme Court decisions with regard to adoption, an unwed father's rights derive more from his expression of interest in the child than from his biological relationship with the child. In contrast, his obligations for financial support rest solely on the fact of biology (Harris, Appendix A).

However, for the most part, decisions regarding the rights of young (or old) unwed fathers on issues such as adoption, custody, visitation, and decision making about their children are made under the jurisdiction of state laws and state courts. Decisions on these domestic relations issues usually do not establish legal precedents, often are not consistent from state to state or even within states, and seldom are subject to judicial review at the level of the State Supreme Court and even more infrequently brought before the Federal Supreme Court.

Although federal policy dictates that rights to visitation and custody are not to be linked to support payments in the procedures of the child support enforcement agencies, family members may view the situation differently. According to some symposium participants, unless young unwed fathers are well informed about their rights and the procedures involved in protecting them, the mother, or her parents, controls the father's access to his children. Several participants at the symposium felt that there were some basic inequities in the current system.

There was a concern that minors need to be approached differently than unwed fathers who are legally adults.

While legal paternity establishment was viewed as necessary regardless of the age of the unwed father, some participants suggested that minor unwed fathers might need to be considered as a separate group from adult unwed fathers in situations relating to their rights and responsibilities.

With respect to rights, a participant from a nonprofit private organization noted that, "In the case of teen parenthood, we are really talking about the rights of three children" and, as children, minor fathers may need special legal advice and protection. Some question was raised among participants as to whether minor unwed fathers should be accorded the same rights as adult fathers. In his review of the legal and ethical dimensions of young unwed fatherhood, one author felt that, in order to have the same rights afforded adult unmarried fathers, the minor father must not only show a significant parental interest, but parental fitness as well, for which he has the burden of proof (Harris, Appendix A).

There was also a feeling among some participants that while the age of the young unwed father does not affect his obligation to support his child, it should have implications for decisions regarding how this financial obligation is to be fulfilled, at least initially. It was suggested that in cases involving unwed fathers under 18, financial obligations might be postponed until adulthood, token support orders might be arranged, or inkind services might be viewed as a form of support.

"In the case of teen parenthood, we are really talking about the rights of three children"

How are concerns about young unwed fathers being addressed?

Federal and local governments are responding to concerns about legal paternity and child support through child support enforcement agencies.

The goals of the federal Office of Child Support Enforcement are to have "paternity established, realistic support orders written, and judicial cooperation." Local child support enforcement agencies (IV-D agencies) are mandated by the federal government to pursue legal paternity and child support for all children whose mothers apply for AFDC benefits, and to make this service available to all other mothers who request it (although in the case of non-AFDC mothers the local agency may charge for their services).

AFDC applicants are required to cooperate with IVD agencies in identifying and locating fathers as a condition of their eligibility for benefits, unless they can establish "good cause" for not doing so—for example, when it is clearly not in the best interests of either the children or themselves to identify the fathers. However, very few AFDC applicants apply for a "good-cause" exemption, and exemptions are granted to most who do apply.

While local jurisdictions vary considerably in the actual practices they employ, there are some general similarities among all IVD agencies: (1) Money collected from fathers whose partners are AFDC recipients is divided between the federal and state governments, except for the first $50 of current support each month, which goes directly to the mothers (This financial arrangement continues until the family is no longer eligible to receive AFDC); (2) Paternity and child support are adjudicated in a single process; and (3) The federal government provides incentives to the state IVD agencies in the form of financial awards based upon the attainment of specific cost-effective ratios and pays for 68% of the administrative costs for the program.

Some communities are addressing unwed fathers' responsibilities and rights through informal systems.

During the symposium, several participants described their experiences with community efforts to deal with young unwed fatherhood. These efforts were viewed as potentially positive approaches since, as one researcher noted, "folks in the community have a better appreciation of how the world looks to these young people."

Information on the actual processes involved in two urban communities was provided by one of the commissioned papers (Sullivan, Appendix A). The author of this paper noted that these informal systems perceive the responsibilities of young unwed fathers in terms of both financial contributions and personal contact with their children. Arrangements for meeting these responsibilities are made through a system of informal processes brought to bear on the unwed father and mother by their families in accord with the cultural traditions and norms of the community.

Within the community-based systems studied by Sullivan, unwed fathers typically made public announcements of paternity. When possible, they made financial contributions to the mothers or provided needed supplies in accord with agreements negotiated by their families. In the black community studied, young fathers actively participated in child care. In the Hispanic community studied, child care was not as common, but leaving school to seek full-time employment occurred more frequently.

According to information from the two communities included in this research effort, the rights of fathers who meet their responsibilities are, in theory, protected by these same informal processes. It is not clear, however, whether this actually works in practice, or how often it occurs. Those fathers who make no attempt to fulfill any of their obligations and "stepoff" are very much disapproved of by the community and by their peers. In addition, in these communities establishment of *legal* paternity appears not to be considered important by the unwed mothers, fathers, or their families. While many fathers are present at the birth of their babies and sign birth certificates, many of the babies have their mothers' surnames. Only one of the fathers interviewed even knew of a case where legal paternity and court-ordered child support had been sought by a mother.

Some private organizations are addressing many of the concerns relevant to young unwed fatherhood through educational and lobbying efforts.

Symposium participants offered information about a few national and local organizations that have launched educational campaigns and/or lobbying efforts. Discussions about this activity centered primarily on the campaign of the National Urban League designed to "ensure that all children know who their fathers are and have the opportunity to have contact with them." The educational component of the campaign is designed to make it clear to young people that fatherhood entails serious responsibilities and should not be taken casually. Establishment of legal paternity is encouraged. Lobbying efforts are focused on encouraging public officials and private industry to address the educational and employment needs of this population.

Some social service agencies and job training programs are responding to the concern that young unwed fathers assume their responsibilities vis-a-vis their children.

Several participants acknowledged that "there are many young fathers who care." But it was generally agreed that, until recently, the service needs of this group of fathers were not being addressed. Some findings reported at the symposium indicated that most social service programs providing assistance to teenage mothers have very little contact with the young fathers (Leitch & Gonzalez, Appendix A). Recently, however, a few social service, job training, and employment programs have been designed specifically to serve young unwed fathers, and their number appears to be increasing as interest in this population grows (Elster, Sander, Sklar, Appendix A).

The social service programs currently providing assistance to young fathers provide counseling to help them deal with the stresses of fatherhood, offer education on child care and child development to help them function effectively as parents, and provide linkages with educational remediation and employment programs to enhance their ability to provide financial support for their children (Leitch & Gonzalez, Sander, Appendix A). In addition, a few job training and employment programs focus on the problems of educational deficiencies and training needs of young fathers and mothers (Sklar, Appendix A).

Those fathers who make no attempt to fulfill any of their obligations and "stepoff" are very much disapproved of by the community and by their peers.

How effective are these efforts?

There appear to be many young unwed fathers who do not establish legal paternity and are not subjected to legally binding support arrangements.

As one participant noted, "If we look at involvement from a legalistic point of view, there is not that much going on." The general situation depicted by several participants is that, while it is not uncommon for young unwed fathers to acknowledge paternity for their children informally, it is less common for them to establish this relationship legally. Similarly, while there are young unwed fathers who contribute financially to the support of their children on an informal basis, few are subjected to court-ordered support arrangements.

While it is not uncommon for young unwed fathers to acknowledge paternity for their children informally, it is less common for them to establish this relationship legally.

Two explanations were offered for this situation. One was based on the fact that there are quite a few young unwed fathers who never come to the attention of the legal system because child support is not an issue either for the state or the mothers of the children. Examples of this situation occur when the mothers: (1) do not apply for AFDC benefits; (2) do not pursue paternity because they and/or their families do not want support from the fathers; and/or (3) do not pursue child support because they feel that, since the fathers have no money, it wouldn't do any good anyway.

Another explanation was offered by several participants who suggested that even when the young mother is an AFDC client, some IV-D agencies are not actively pursuing paternity and support for young unwed fathers, particularly when these fathers are unemployed. One author of a commissioned paper reported that some IV-D agencies assigned low priority to this population because of the federal incentive system. The assumption of personnel in these agencies is that the costs of pursuing the cases are greater than the contributions the fathers could be expected to make (Kohn, Appendix A). However, participants from the Office of Child Support Enforcement noted that this assumption is not accurate and that IV-D agencies that engage in this practice are in violation of federal requirements and risk financial penalties.

There appears to be some personal and financial support provided by unwed fathers on an informal basis, but this lacks stability.

According to one of the researchers at the symposium, "there is a lot of support going on out there, but it is outside the legal system." However, the lack of formalization of these support arrangements was reported to be potentially problematic. For example, for some young unwed fathers, interest in their children may wane as the children get older, and without formal arrangements, mothers may have difficulty making claims on the fathers when this happens. In addition, without legal paternity and court-ordered support arrangements, there may be problems resolving disputes between fathers and mothers, or among extended family members.

The lack of formal support arrangements may also result in young unwed fathers and mothers being involved in fraud. The contributions of young unwed fathers to the financial support of their children are frequently "off-the-record"—not reported to the welfare system if the mother is receiving AFDC. In these situations, fathers and mothers may be subject to criminal charges.

Information and Issues: What Are the Implications?

There appears to be a great deal we do not know about young unwed fathers. More information is needed if programs and policies are to be developed that will effectively address the economic needs of society, and the personal as well as economic needs of fathers, children, and mothers.

The information that is available on this population, however, suggests that programs and policies will need to be flexible enough to account for the considerable variation among these young men. Young unwed fathers who are minors have particular problems and concerns that are not shared by their adult counterparts. Young unwed fathers from innercity, minority communities have needs that differ from those of fathers from rural and suburban communities. Fathers with histories of behavior disorders may have service needs that young fathers without similar histories do not share. Finally, fathers who are clearly not motivated to be involved in parenting will need to be approached differently than those who are motivated but who lack the necessary resources.

It also became clear in the course of discussing the concerns relevant to young unwed fatherhood that there are many challenges for policy and program initiatives to address. The range of views and perspectives expressed underscored the failure of current programs and policies to look at young unwed fatherhood from a multilateral perspective and to consider the rights, needs, and obligations of all involved parties.

Young unwed fathers who are minors have particular problems and concerns that are not shared by their adult counterparts.

Part III:
Programs and Policies

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This section of the report focuses on the challenges for policy and program development and implementation that were raised in the symposium. The specific issues considered in this section are: the unresolved questions relevant to future policy and program initiatives; the barriers to fathers' involvement that policies and programs need to address; and the ways these questions and barriers can be dealt with at the policy and program level.

Emerging from the discussions of these issues was, again, a sense that policies and programs at present do not approach the concerns of young unwed fathers from a broad perspective — i.e., considering the multiple facets of the problem. The major challenge for programs and policies, then, is to coordinate perspectives and approaches in a way that results in balancing the competing and sometimes conflicting rights, needs, and responsibilities of all parties involved—fathers, mothers, children, grandparents, and society.

In this section an attempt is made to present the diversity of ideas and opinions expressed by symposium participants with the goal of informing the reader of the variety of perspectives and of the need for a greater integration of perspectives in future policy and program initiatives.

Policy And Program Development

Much attention was given by symposium participants to the questions and problems that policies and programs will have to address in future initiatives. The questions raised centered on the several dilemmas that are inherent in considerations of fathers' responsibilities and rights. The discussion of problems focused on the financial and personal barriers to the involvement of young unwed fathers with their children.

What are some of the unresolved questions?

Who should make the decision to pursue legal paternity?

As one researcher noted, "At the practical level, the pursuit of paternity is fraught with vexing questions." One of these "vexing" questions is, Who should make the decision to pursue establishment of legal paternity? Several participants noted that, in the case of unwed parenthood, whether or not paternity will be legally established is a decision that often rests primarily with the unwed mother.

Unwed mothers who apply for AFDC are required to cooperate in the establishment of paternity and child support as a condition for receiving benefits. Applicants are asked for information about the identity and location of the putative father. There is concern among AFDC and child support program staff (state and federal) that the information provided is sometimes inaccurate and that often pertinent information is withheld. However, there has been no study to determine if better explanations of the importance of paternity and child support or more vigorous interviewing techniques might improve the quality of information being provided by AFDC applicants.

Mothers may also claim a good-cause exemption to naming the father based on their belief that this would not be in the best interests of their children or themselves. Cases of rape, incest, or fear of physical abuse warrant good-cause exemptions. One participant from the Office of Child Support Enforcement noted that good-cause exemptions are statistically rare, however. The more common situation seems to be that of mothers claiming not to know where the fathers are.

In situations where a mother does not apply for AFDC benefits, there is no legal requirement for her to either name the father of her child or have paternity legally established for her child. Fathers who wish to legally establish paternity apart from the mother's request are not served by IVD agencies. These fathers must seek private legal counsel or other publicly funded legal services if the mothers reject their claims.

While some participants viewed the mothers as the appropriate persons to make this decision, others felt that decisions not to seek paternity may often be based on criteria irrelevant to the welfare of the child, such as the mother's or her parents' feelings about the father. For these participants, to deprive children of the right to know and have access to their fathers in such instances did not seem to be in the best interests of the child.

The issue for program and policy development with respect to paternity pursuit may be seen as one of balancing the competing rights of fathers, mothers, and children. However, as it was noted by several participants, society has some rights in this situation as well. AFDC mothers who avoid the requirements with respect to paternity affect the ability of the child support offices to relieve the state of some of the burden of support of these children. Non-AFDC mothers who do not pursue paternity initially because they do not want support, may apply for AFDC benefits at a later time when it may be more expensive and difficult for the state to locate fathers and enforce support.

Decisions not to seek paternity may often be based on criteria irrelevant to the welfare of the child, such as the mother's or her parents' feelings about the father.

When should paternity be legally established?

While several participants suggested that the best time to legally establish paternity might be at the time of birth of the child, others agreed with the comment of one federal agency staff member: "It boggles the mind that we would have these young men sign at the hospital." This objection was based on the fact that young men, at the time of birth of the children, are often caught up in the emotion of the experience and may need counseling before they acknowledge paternity legally. In some cases, for example, these young men may not be the fathers of the children.

(NOTE: The entry of the putative father's name on a birth certificate does not establish legal paternity in most states; however, it may serve as evidence for adjudication of paternity.)

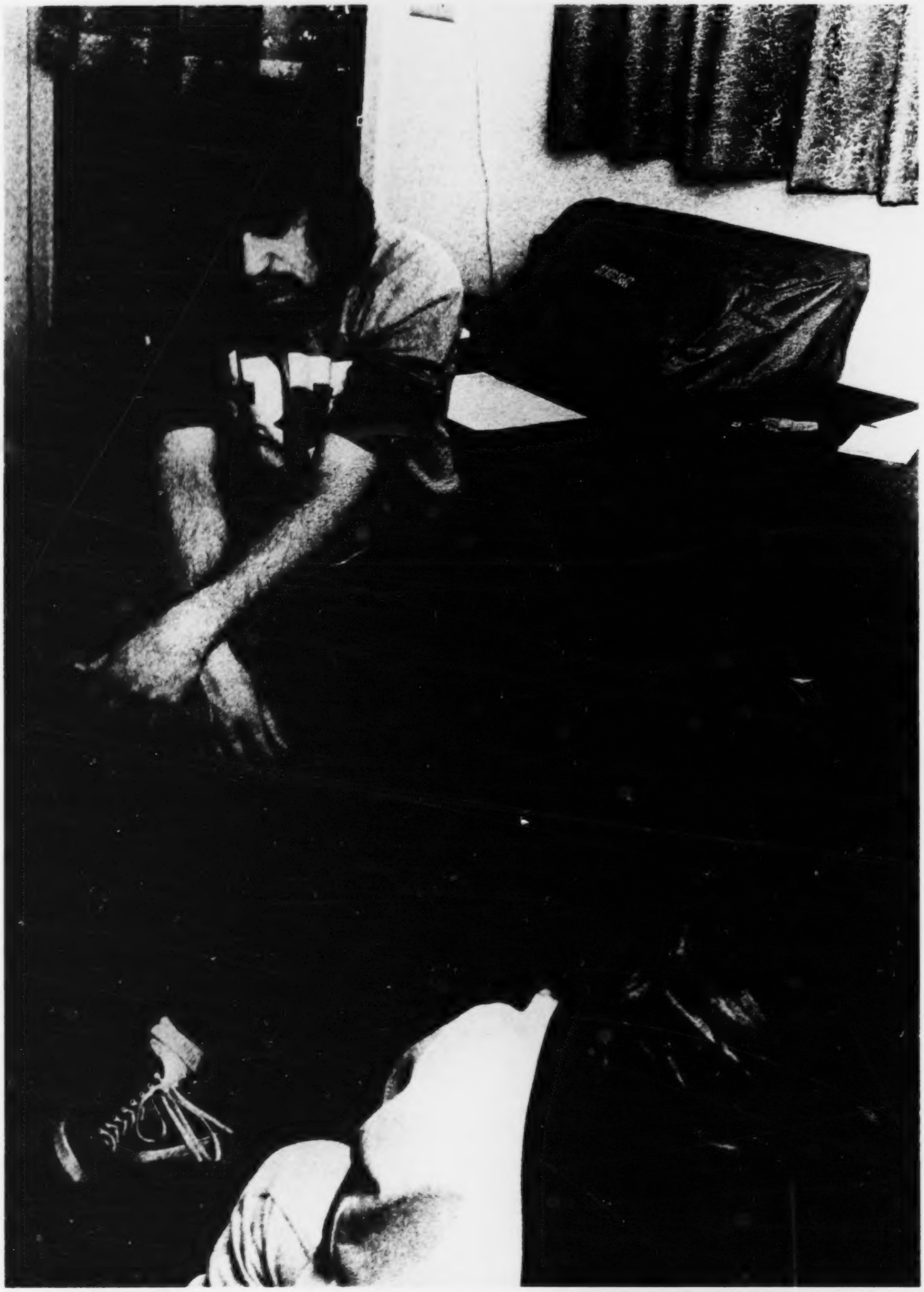
Despite this point of disagreement, there was a general consensus among participants that paternity should be legally established as soon after the birth of the child as possible. This would avoid the difficulty of locating fathers at a later time, and would encourage the participation of fathers in the parenting process at an early stage when they are most motivated to be involved.

How should paternity be legally established?

At present, IV-D agencies pursue paternity and child support as one process. Some of the procedures involved in this process were described by one attorney as "coming with some heavy overtones for the fathers." Several participants felt that such procedures created negative attitudes toward the agency, making it more difficult to get cooperation from young mothers and fathers. Some IV-D agencies appear to be aware of this difficulty and are experimenting with less formal and threatening procedures, particularly when making their initial contacts with fathers and mothers.

Despite these attempts, several participants suggested that policies might be developed that would allow paternity to be established as a separate process from child support. While this practice may not be practical for IV-D agencies, whose major concern is child support, it may be effective in reaching fathers from whom child support is not being sought. For example, if child support is not an issue for either the state or the mother, then IV-D agencies do not become involved. However, policy and programs may be developed apart from IV-D agencies that would allow paternity to be established as a social, rather than economic, issue.

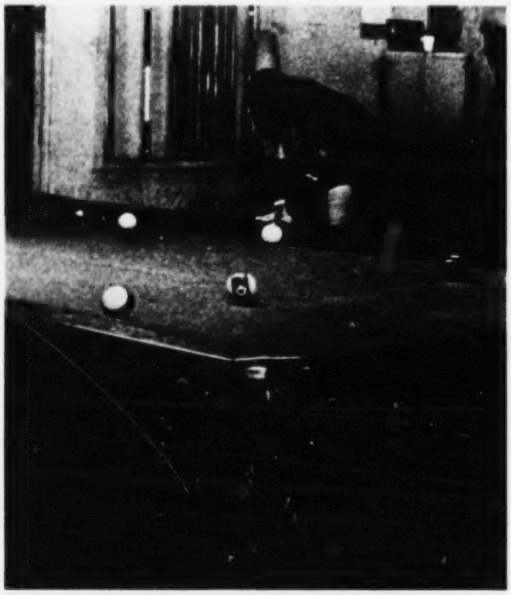
There was also some discussion concerning the establishment of legal paternity through the procedure of voluntary acknowledgement of paternity in a formal administrative process, but without a blood test or a court hearing. This procedure is used by some States and raised questions of whether young unwed fathers were adequately counseled about their rights in these situations, or about the advisability of a blood test to determine whether they actually are the fathers.



Young men, at the time of birth of the children, are often caught up in the emotion of the experience and may need counseling before they acknowledge paternity legally.

Does court-ordered child support increase or decrease the probability that fathers will be involved with their children in other ways?

There was extensive debate on this question. One school of thought was expressed most succinctly by an official from a federal agency who said: "When men pay, they want to exercise their rights." This perspective was supported by one panelist who noted a finding of a North Carolina study. According to this study, fathers of children receiving AFDC who made the greatest contributions to child support also had the most frequent contact with their children (Haskins et al., 1985). Other participants suggested that fathers' financial contributions might make mothers or their families more likely to grant fathers access to their children.



"When men pay, they want to exercise their rights."

The government's emphasis on financial support alone may deter many young fathers from seeking personal contact with their children.

The other side of this issue was exemplified by the statement of a staff member from a state Department of Social Services agency: "It's distressing to hear father's involvement discussed in dollars and cents terms." Proponents of this perspective indicated that since many young unwed fathers are unable to contribute financially to their children's support, the emphasis of the government, and often of the mothers, on financial support alone may deter many young fathers from seeking personal contact with their children. One researcher remarked that one of the young men he interviewed described young fathers as "stepping-off" from personal involvement with their children because they can't come up with any money for support.

What constitutes support?

Inherent to the discussion of child support was a consideration of what activities should constitute support from a policy or program perspective. While, for some participants, child support is a term that refers to financial contributions, other participants proposed that the term could be defined more broadly in policies and programs to include psychological and emotional support. These participants expressed the opinion that the broadening of this concept would ease the pressure on young unwed fathers who were unable to make financial contributions, and provide them with the sense that they still had a role to play in the lives of their children.

Several difficulties, however, were delineated with conceptualizing support in this way—for example, such a broadening of the term could undermine the significance of the father's financial obligations to his children. It was also pointed out that if these alternative forms of support were included in court-ordered arrangements, enforcement would be extremely difficult.

What are the barriers to involvement?

Some young unwed fathers are unable to earn enough money to contribute to the financial support of their children.

There was little disagreement among participants that a major problem faced by young unwed fathers was unemployment or underemployment. Lack of adequate employment was often cited as the principal reason why young unwed fathers did not contribute to the support of their children. As one participant noted, "If you cut them out of the work force, you cut them out of responsibility." Yet, there are very few special programs designed to provide these young fathers with the skills and/or work-oriented attitudes and behaviors necessary to enter and remain in the work force.

Some discussion ensued over whether society had an obligation to meet these needs. In particular, whether unwed fathers should receive preferential placement in programs over their peers who are not fathers, but who have similar needs. Several participants suggested that such a practice might be viewed as "rewarding" unwed fathers while "penalizing" young men who were not fathers.

Should society give unwed fathers preferential placement in training programs over their peers who are not fathers, but have similar needs.

There also appears to be some difficulty with the retention rate of young unwed fathers in programs providing training for employment. Some participants felt that the retention problem was due to the fact that most of the available programs do not provide stipends during the training period (Sklar, Appendix A). However, others indicated that if fathers were sufficiently motivated, then the opportunity for better employment prospects after training should be incentive enough.

> ***In many states, for example, the financial outlook for a teen mother and her child is far better if she and the father do not marry, since doing so would make her ineligible for AFDC benefits.***

Some young unwed fathers are excluded from involvement with their children by the mother or her parents.

Several participants indicated agreement with the statement of one researcher that "many fathers are not involved because the parents of the girl don't want them involved." Another reported that young unwed fathers were often deterred from access to their children by the mothers. In addition, the authors of one of the commissioned papers found that social workers who attempt to involve young fathers in services to teen mothers often have to overcome the reluctance of the teen mother's parents to having them involved (Leitch and Gonzalez, Appendix A).

As discussed in a previous section of this report, a factor which contributes to a father's lack of involvement is that no state action to establish paternity or child support is taken unless a mother applies for AFDC or IV-D services. Several participants expressed the opinion that not only are the fathers' rights at stake by default in these situations, but the welfare of the child may be adversely affected also.

Many young unwed fathers are excluded from the system of social services available to their female partners.

The authors of one of the commissioned papers noted that: "Most teen pregnancy and parenting programs do not see helping young unwed fathers as their mission" (Leitch and Gonzalez, Appendix A). As a result, young fathers who have needs for counseling and information on child care and parenting often have nowhere to go for help. While some agencies are beginning to include the young fathers in agency services to mothers, these efforts often appear to be inadequate (Leitch and Gonzalez, Appendix A).

Some of the reported limitations of agency services to young men were: (1) the needs of the young men were viewed as secondary to the needs of the young women; (2) counseling for the young men focused primarily on encouraging their support of the young women; (3) there was little staff training in strategies to work with young males, with few programs employing male staff; and (4) caseworkers did not get administrative credit or support for working with anyone other than the teen mother (Leitch and Gonzalez, Appendix A).

Some young unwed fathers face bureaucratic barriers to becoming involved with their children.

One of the bureaucracies noted by participants as putting up barriers to the involvement of young unwed fathers with their children was the AFDC system. There were several participants who agreed with the statement of one author that, "AFDC discourages family formation" (Elster, Appendix A). In many states, for example, the financial outlook for a teen mother and her child is far better if she and the father do not marry, since doing so would make her ineligible for AFDC benefits. While half the states do have programs which allow benefits to married parents (AFDC-UP), these apply only if fathers have been previously employed. (See Appendix B for details on AFDC-UP programs).

The other bureaucracy described as deterring the involvement of young unwed fathers with their children was the child support enforcement system of IV-D agencies. As noted in a previous section of the report, some of the procedures used by IV-D agencies in their dealings with young unwed fathers and mothers appear to have created a perception of these agencies as hostile and punitive to fathers. As one researcher noted, some teen mothers express reluctance to name the fathers of their children since they don't want to "turn in their boyfriends." This negative view of IV-D agencies was reported to be shared by some social workers in service agencies (Sander, Appendix A), and by several of the participants themselves.

Program and Policy Initiatives

Once the questions and problems facing program and policy development were defined, symposium participants turned their attention to a discussion of the ways that programs and policies might overcome these difficulties in future initiatives. A discussion also ensued concerning the issue of the sectors of society responsible for addressing these difficulties.

How can these difficulties be overcome?

Comprehensive service programs are needed that approach young unwed fathers from a broad perspective.

There was general agreement among symposium participants that programs are needed to deal with the psychological, interpersonal, educational, and employment needs of young unwed fathers in a way that respects their rights, as well as the rights of the mothers, children, grandparents, and society. There was also general agreement that this is not an easy task.

A beginning step is being made by a few programs such as those participating in the Teen Father Collaboration Project. This project consists of eight programs located in various communities across the United States, working in a collaborative effort to provide special services to young unwed fathers (Sander, Appendix A).

A report on this project, presented at the symposium, identified several criteria for successful comprehensive service programs. These included: (1) administrators who had a major commitment to working with fathers as well as mothers; (2) community outreach programs to recruit young fathers into the program; (3) male counselors whose specific job it is to work with young fathers; and (4) program linkages to high school guidance counselors, housing officials, welfare workers, training and employment programs, high school equivalency degree programs, and family and drug counselors.

Some IV-D procedures have created a perception of these agencies as hostile and punitive to fathers.

The programs included in the Teen Father Collaboration Project, however, did not address several important issues relevant to unwed fathers. They did not attempt to educate either young mothers or fathers on the benefits of legal paternity; they did not inform either parent of the legal requirements in this regard; and they did not explain the procedures and services of the IV-D agencies that were available to the parents. In fact, the author of the report noted that many of the social workers involved in these service programs had negative perceptions of IV-D agency services or viewed IV-D procedures as too complex for the young people to understand.

Extensive program linkages are needed in order to integrate perspectives and approaches.

There was some agreement among participants that one way to promote involvement without putting up barriers would be to have more coordination and information exchange among programs than currently exists. The lack of coordination and information exchange among programs was apparent in symposium discussions. Participants often expressed surprise that some programs were engaged in certain types of practices, or commented on the lack of information they had regarding the policies and procedures of various programs.

To summarize the results of these discussions: (1) health and social service agency personnel are not generally knowledgeable about IV-D agency services and practices; (2) IV-D agency personnel often are unaware of the local programs serving young unwed mothers and fathers, and do not work in cooperation with them; (3) IV-D agencies, courts, and service programs often do not work in conjunction with job training or educational remediation programs; (4) job training programs frequently are not linked to other service programs; and (5) the judicial system does not frequently work in conjunction with programs serving unwed fathers.

Greater community linkages are needed in order to effect greater cooperation in approaches to young unwed fathers.

Some of the participants expressed the feeling that there was not only a need for linkages at the administrative program level, but also a need for programs to develop communication with individuals and organizations in the communities in which the young fathers and mothers live. As one participant remarked, "We need to take a look at the history of the community's approaches to the problem." This linkage would work to shore up those informal systems that are effective, and integrate them with existing formal programs.

Community linkages were also seen to be critical for public educational purposes. The attitude of many communities toward legal paternity and child support appears to be that such procedures are hostile and punitive, at worst, or irrelevant, at best. Several participants pointed out that greater program linkages with communities might serve to counteract these attitudes by providing an opportunity to educate residents about the benefits that accrue to fathers, mothers, and children when paternity is legally acknowledged.

A few participants indicated that family support and community linkages appear to be better established in small rural communities. One of the commissioned papers, for example, cited cases of rural social service agencies where the teen mother, her parents, the father of the child, and his parents will often show up for appointments at the agency (Leitch and Gonzalez, Appendix A).

Who should take the initiative in these efforts?

There is a need for a partnership between the public and private sectors.

While some symposium participants felt that the federal government should take the initiative in developing and funding programs dealing with young unwed fathers, other participants agreed with the comment of one researcher that "we have to come up with ideas that do not depend upon the federal government." The general feeling was that if the problems inherent in a consideration of young unwed fathers were to be adequately addressed, it would require a cooperative effort of the federal government, state and local governments, and private organizations, agencies, and businesses. Only a joint effort on the part of all of these sectors of society could begin to deal with the many issues and concerns.

There is a need for families and communities to take some initiative in addressing the concerns and responsibilities of young unwed fathers.

As one participant remarked: "Who is going to teach these young men how to be responsible? We have to go back to the anchors of society—home, school, church." These comments reflect a perspective expressed by one author and several symposium participants, that, whatever lack of responsibility was shown by young unwed fathers reflected cultural and community attitudes and, thus, it was up to the family and the community to change these attitudes (Connor, Appendix A).

It is up to the family and the community to change unwed fathers' attitudes

Be careful. Be responsible.

Being a father is a lot more than just making a baby. And if you really want to know how a real man handles sex and deals with being a father, call or stop by your local Urban League office.

Don't make a baby if you can't be a father.

Prepared as a public service for the National Urban League by Mingo-Jones Advertising

Along this line, participants offered several opinions: (1) Grandparents may need to be held responsible for the actions of the young parents who are legal minors in order to make them more aware of their obligations to control their children (This is the thinking behind the "grandparent liability law" recently enacted in Wisconsin); (2) The parents and other close family members of young men and women must be included in any efforts to increase community knowledge and awareness of issues concerning responsible young fatherhood; and (3) Community leaders, such as ministers and youth center directors, may need to take on the tasks of emphasizing to the young men that they have responsibilities to their children that cannot be ignored.

Part IV:
Suggestions for Policy Options, Actions, and Research Questions

Part IV: Suggestions for Policy Options, Actions, and Research Questions

The commissioned papers and symposium discussions generated a variety of ideas and suggestions for new policy options, program development, and reform to help encourage more responsible and involved unwed fatherhood. These ideas, however, are not a blueprint; much is still unknown. Thus, this report also identifies many questions that need further study and research. This section of the report summarizes these options, actions, and research questions.

Paternity Establishment

Issues

There was a general consensus among symposium participants that the legal establishment of paternity was a critical issue: (1) it is the first basic step in court-ordered child support; (2) it provides economic and psychosocial benefits to the children; and (3) it gives fathers a basis for establishing their rights vis-a-vis their children. Despite these advantages, there are apparently large numbers of young unwed fathers who do not take this important step even when they willingly acknowledge their paternity in their community.

Symposium participants offered several explanations for this situation:

- In some jurisdictions, child support enforcement agencies do not actively pursue paternity for young unwed fathers who are brought to their attention;
- Some young unwed fathers never come to the attention of child support enforcement agencies because child support is not sought either by the state or the mothers;
- Some young unwed fathers do not come to the attention of child support enforcement agencies because mothers who apply for AFDC benefits do not always name the fathers of their children, or claim that they do not know how to find them;
- Some non-AFDC mothers may not be aware of the services available to them from IV-D agencies; and the cost of using a private lawyer may be prohibitive or socially unacceptable.

Options

Several options were offered by symposium participants as potential ways to remedy the current situation regarding legal paternity establishment.

1. Education programs.

Young women and men, and their families, need to be educated about the value of establishing legal paternity, and, in particular, about the benefits that accrue to the child whether or not immediate financial support is at issue. This effort should begin during the pregnancy, or as soon after the birth of the child as possible, since it is usually at this time that both parents are most amenable to pursuing this issue. An effective education program would require training community workers; health care and social service agency personnel; school, family life, and sex education teachers; AFDC eligibility workers; IV-D agency staff, and teen pregnancy program staff in presenting the benefits of legal paternity in such a way as to overcome existing negative attitudes and perceptions.

2. Incentive changes.

Federal incentives in the child support program provide special payments to states over and above their federal matching rate. These payments are computed by multiplying state child support collections by a percentage, established in law, based on the state's cost-effectiveness ratio (collections divided by costs). Several participants suggested redesigning these incentives to provide special payments based on the proportion of paternities and child support orders established as well as collections.

While IV-D agencies are precluded by law and regulation from systematically refusing to provide services required by law, states are allowed to prioritize cases, as long as they meet minimum process standards for all cases.

Some participants felt that there are many jurisdictions where low priority is given to paternity cases, and especially cases involving young unwed fathers, because collections may be lower and administrative costs higher than in other child support cases and child support officials may believe that such efforts could reduce their state incentive payments. This means that fewer staff efforts are devoted to these cases and that it may take months or years to complete the necessary casework to establish paternity. This delay can make it more difficult to establish paternity, especially in states where genetic testing is not routinely included in contested paternity cases. Federal child support staff cited a study by Edward Young (1985) on the cost and benefits of paternity establishment, which indicates that paternity establishment is a cost-effective activity, even if not all cases result in child support payments.

3. Separation of paternity establishment from child support.

It was suggested that in cases where support is ***not*** being sought, paternity might be established as a separate process, in which case IVD agencies do not need to be responsible for this task. Instead, local jurisdictions might develop procedures in conjunction with community leaders that would attain this goal. For example, ministers might be granted the authority to legally establish paternity, as they are to legalize marriages, with adequate training and information. However, it may not always be feasible to separate these two processes of paternity and child support.

4. Universal registration of parents.

Some participants suggested that legal paternity could be established through requiring a universal registration of both parents at birth. These participants recognized that some exceptions might have to be made to such a requirement. Other participants, however, questioned whether such a policy would serve the best interests of the children, or would be feasible to enact. There might also be unintended consequences if states would refuse to issue birth certificates until paternity was established and the father's name could be entered on the certificate.

Actions

A number of specific activities were suggested by symposium participants.

1. An ad hoc task force on paternity establishment could be created at federal, state, or local levels to work on a number of separate but related issues. This task force could be set up under public or private auspices (or a mixture of both), but should include representatives of a range of professional interests and concerns. The task force would need to address the following specific issues:
   a. How feasible is it to require universal registration of paternity at birth? The task force would need to consider the practical, legal, and moral issues involved.
   b. What would be the essential components of a state/national campaign to promote paternal responsibility, and the benefits of establishing paternity?
   c. What are the currently existing successful efforts to increase rates of establishing paternity, and how can this information be disseminated?
   d. How are minor unwed fathers to be approached, and how can protection of their legal rights be ensured?
2. Local community leaders and service personnel could establish working groups to develop models for educating youth about the rights and responsibilities of fatherhood to be included in sex and family life education programs offered by schools, churches, and other organizations. The local groups could receive guidance in this effort from federal or state agencies concerned with these issues.
3. States could also establish special programs and procedures for establishing paternity in cases where the mother is not an AFDC recipient or has not applied for IVD services.

Research Questions

Mounting effective educational and promotional campaigns is difficult without knowing the attitudes and motivations of the target groups, and without understanding how demographic and personal factors affect these attitudes and motives. Yet very little is known about young people's knowledge and attitudes about unwed fatherhood, paternity establishment, and child support.

Little is known about young people's knowledge and attitudes about unwed fatherhood, paternity establishment, and child support.

The following questions need to be answered.

- In general, what do young people know about the rights and responsibilities of fathers in general and unwed fathers in particular? What are their beliefs and attitudes about legal paternity and child support requirements? What effects do age, gender, education, family background, and community context have on young people's knowledge and attitudes?
- Why do some young unwed fathers voluntarily admit paternity and others resist?
- What concerns and attitudes do family members and community leaders have about establishing paternity, and how do these vary in different types of communities?
- What are realistic goals for the level of paternity adjudication to be achieved by states? Should these levels vary for different communities and racial groups? Should the age of the child be taken into consideration since paternity is often more difficult to establish when substantial time has elapsed since the birth of the child?

Many young unwed fathers are not subject to court-ordered child support arrangements

Child Support

Issues

There was a general consensus among symposium participants that young unwed fathers should contribute to the financial support of their children, if they are able to do so. However, there appear to be many young unwed fathers who are not subject to court-ordered child support arrangements. As noted above, in some cases support is not sought from the fathers, and in some cases IV-D agencies do not pursue support because the potential for monetary payment is so low for this population.

A second issue concerns the opinion expressed by some symposium participants that in situations involving young unwed fathers, support does not always have to be conceptualized in financial terms, but might be broadened to include nonmonetary services, particularly child care.

"Support" might be broadened to include non-monetary services, particularly child care.

A third issue arose from information indicating that personnel in social service, health, and/or other youth-serving organizations that deal with unwed parents appear to be poorly informed about the child support system and seldom advise young parents about its services, requirements, and potential benefits.

Options

1. Alternative Support:

With respect to broadening the concept of support, it was suggested that it may be possible for courts to recognize inkind services as a form of court-ordered support until the young unwed fathers are employed. It was noted by several participants, however, that such court-ordered support arrangements might be extremely difficult to enforce.

2. Requirements for Fathers

Some localities require a father who is not able to pay support, or who defaults on his payments, to enroll in education, job training, or employment programs.

3. Education:

As with the issue of paternity, health care, and social service, professionals and other adults in contact with young parents could be provided with information about the child support system, its rationale and philosophy, and its range of services.

Actions

The majority of action steps suggested in response to the issue of child support focused on the activities of the Office of Child Support Enforcement and the local agencies that carry out its mandates. However, local judicial systems, and professionals who work with young unwed parents, and youth in general, would need to participate in many of these efforts if they are to be successful.

1. One action might involve a local jurisdiction developing a demonstration project in cooperation with the judicial system to establish "alternative" court-ordered support when young fathers are unable to pay. The programs resulting from this project could have an evaluation component with respect to the effects of this type of support order on later participation in the child support system and on the father's personal involvement with his child. While it is recognized that this is a longterm project, some participants indicated that the benefits may be positive enough to warrant the effort.
2. Federal or local agencies could develop and disseminate information to the public that promotes community concern with the issue of child support, drawing on the expertise of social service agency personnel who work with young unwed parents and/or youth in general.
3. Federal, state, or local agencies could assess current innovative child support activities aimed specifically at young unwed fathers and disseminate information about the most successful strategies.

Research Questions

There are some important questions that arose in discussions of child support that need to be addressed if policies and programs are to effectively deal with this issue.

1. What are the attitudes of young mothers and fathers regarding the fathers' responsibility to provide financial support for their children? How do these attitudes vary as a function of demographic and personal factors?
2. Does an emphasis on child support increase or decrease fathers' involvement with their children in other ways?
3. How does a father's participation in the financial support of his children affect his opportunities to have access to his children both legally and interpersonally; does the effect vary as a function of community values, norms, and traditions?

AFDC Programs

Issues

Two major issues emerged with regard to AFDC program services. One issue concerned the lack of interaction and communication between AFDC and IV-D agency personnel. The other focused on the fact that AFDC staff are not sufficiently trained to present the benefits of IV-D agency services to the mothers. Current approaches appear to discourage cooperation and lead to a misperception of the purposes of the system.

Options

1. Agency linkages

Child support staff could work more closely with welfare staff so that AFDC workers become more knowledgeable about the benefits of paternity establishment that accrue to the child and about the procedures of child support enforcement.

2. Special intake units

AFDC agencies could set up a special intake unit trained to counsel young mothers and to serve as a liaison between eligibility and social service counselors. Case managers could specifically target the young AFDC mother whose partner is not yet in the labor force to recommend and encourage his involvement in further education, training, or employment programs.

Local judicial systems, and professionals who work with young unwed parents, and youth in general, would need to participate in many of these efforts if they are to be successful.

Young fathers cannot assume their financial responsibilities for their children unless they are able to work for pay.

Actions

1. Federal and state welfare offices could review the appropriateness of the current system for young unwed mothers. The system separates staff who establish eligibility from those who counsel about social services. Case management procedures could be developed to target young unwed parents when they first enter the system and to help the frontline workers counsel them about the young unwed fathers' needs and responsibilities.
2. Welfare reforms that include job training for mothers who are AFDC recipients should consider encouraging unwed fathers, who are usually not recipients, to participate.

Research Questions

- Information is needed about the characteristics, employment patterns, income, paternal attitudes, and behavior of a national sample of absent parents, including those whose children are receiving AFDC. This should be collected from the fathers themselves, perhaps as a supplement to ongoing census surveys or labor market employment surveys.

Job Training and Employment Programs

Issues

Young fathers cannot assume their financial responsibilities for their children unless they are able to work for pay. While some young unwed fathers may exclude themselves from the work force because of lack of interest, there appear to be a large number who desire to work, but who lack the basic skills, appropriate work-oriented attitudes and behaviors, and/or opportunities for employment. The major issues of concern are how to get young unwed fathers into the educational and training programs they need, how to keep them in the programs, and whether they should be given preferential placement over young people who are not unwed parents but share the same employment and educational needs.

Options

1. Program linkages.

Agencies and professionals concerned with the educational problems of youth, their job training and employment problems, and their personal difficulties could develop a range of services that could be tailored to the needs of each young father. For each father, the goal would be to have available a mix of services that are most cost effective. Existing training and employment programs cannot be expected to provide the full range of services themselves. Rather, the range of services needed can be provided only by a coordinated effort among the various providers in each community.

2. Preferential placement

Public and private efforts to provide educational remediation, job training, and employment could give preferential placement to young men who are unwed fathers. Or, if this was deemed to be either unfair or unfeasible, such programs could, at a minimum, include a component that addresses the concerns and needs of these young men that may be different from their nonfather peers.

3. Recruitment and retention.

In order to recruit young unwed fathers into these programs and encourage their continued participation, stipends could be paid while in a training or educational program. One alternative to consider is tying stipends to accomplishments and/or child support. If stipends were not being considered, programs could instead combine work, for which the young men would be paid, with training or other educational programs.

Actions

1. Task forces could be established at local levels, using representatives from private and public programs, that could share information about their services and their experiences regarding the service needs of young unwed fathers so they can develop action strategies that are suited to their communities.
2. Task forces could also be established at state and national levels to develop model programs for education, training, and employment for young unwed fathers. They could also consider the issue of monetary payments either through stipends or work/study arrangements, the question of whether—and if so, how—to enforce attendance and child support payments, and the problems of counseling and service needs.
3. Based on task force findings, demonstration projects could be implemented and evaluated. Information about successful programs and strategies could then be disseminated to public agencies and private industry and organizations.

Research Issues

- Would enrollment in job training and placement programs affect a father's behavior with regard to employment, payment of support, child visitation, and marriage—and, if so, how?
- Regarding program design and management, what are the best recruitment strategies? Should services for young fathers be integrated with services for teen mothers or separate from them? Should participation be contingent on attendance and on payment of child support? Which types of fathers seem to benefit most from these programs? Finally, how effective are current programs in recruiting and serving young fathers?

Pregnancy and parenting programs rarely involve the unwed father, and when they do, the focus of their concern is his psychological and emotional support of the mother.

Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting Programs

Issues

In many communities, special programs provide a range of health, educational, and social services to pregnant adolescents, teen mothers, and their children. However, program staff are not well informed about issues of paternity and child support and do not perceive encouraging paternal responsibility as one of their program objectives. Many of these programs rarely involve the unwed father, and when they do, the focus of concern is usually on his psychological and emotional support of the mother. Yet some demonstration projects have shown that programs serving pregnant or parenting teen mothers may be uniquely positioned to offer counseling and mediation services to both parents, as well as to their families.

There is some disagreement about whether programs designed primarily for teen mothers should expand their goals to incorporate young fathers, or whether separate programs should be established specifically to meet the needs and circumstances of young fathers.

Options

1. Teen pregnancy and parenting programs could be designed to involve the young father as early on in the process as possible. He could be involved in the pregnancy counseling offered to the young woman, including decision making about adoption, preparing for childbirth, attending parenting classes, etc. Staff could be trained to inform the young parents about the need to establish paternity and about the father's financial support responsibilities. Staff workers also need to know about community programs to which fathers, as well as mothers, can be referred for further education, training, and/or employment.
2. Program staff need to be encouraged to, and provided with special training for, work with the young mother's parents and other family members.
3. Teen pregnancy and parenting programs need to establish close liaisons with IVD and AFDC programs to become better informed about their processes and procedures and to cooperate in referrals.
4. Some communities may need special programs for the young father who would like to be more involved but who is discouraged by the young mother or her parents. Recruitment for these programs would not depend on the young women but instead would require vigorous community outreach, preferably by male workers.

Actions

1. Including young fathers in the goals and services of existing teen pregnancy programs will require some radical transformations and adjustments. A special coordinating council on young fatherhood could be established at community levels, consisting of members of publicly and privately funded program networks, to examine ways in which these programs need to change in order to better serve young fathers. This council might consider tasks such as examining administrative barriers to working with teen fathers and other family members, reviewing possible sources of funding for extra staff training and specialized staffing, planning presentations and workshops at network conferences and meetings, etc.
2. Funding agencies, either public or private, could consider inclusion of young fathers in services as one of the core services required to receive funding. Administrative incentives to work with young fathers and extended family members could be provided.

Research Questions

- Although some descriptive evaluations of programs for teen fathers have been conducted, none has systematically examined the effects of involving young fathers in teen pregnancy programs on pregnancy decisions, stability of plans for the baby, rates of establishing paternity, payment of child support, or fathers' personal involvement with their children.
- Another important question is to identify the situations in which involving the father in teen pregnancy programs might be contraindicated.

- Young unwed fathers are often reluctant to seek the services of agencies serving pregnant teens or teen mothers. Research into the attitudes or program factors that prevent fathers' involvement in these services would help determine whether separate services under other types of agency auspices—such as YMCA's, youth centers, etc.—would be more acceptable to the fathers.
- Longitudinal studies of unwed fathers from different racial and socioeconomic groups and communities should be conducted to determine patterns of fathering over a number of years, factors that influence paternal involvement, and effects of such involvement on the children. Most research to date on young unwed fathers has been cross-sectional.

Update on HHS Research and Demonstrations

Subsequent to the holding of the symposium on young unwed fathers, HHS has funded several research projects which will have findings related to this issue—although none of the projects focus on young unwed *fathers* specifically. These projects are:

Paternity and Support Establishment

The Office of Child Support Enforcement in the Family Support Administration (HHS) has taken the first step in this area by funding demonstration projects in the states of Ohio and Nebraska to develop more effective paternity and support establishment systems. These projects, which were funded in September 1987, will demonstrate techniques designed to promote the accurate and speedy establishment of paternity, with special focus on births to teenage and young adult mothers. (For more information contact Gaile Maller, HHS/FSA/OCSE at (202) 245-1991)

AFDC/Child Support Interface

Four projects have been funded which are designed to improve early cooperation and coordination between state AFDC and Child Support Enforcement (CSE) programs: Madera County, Calif., is implementing an automated data exchange system; The Illinois Department of Public Aid is testing the integration and co-location of AFDC and CSE intake activities; The Maryland Department of Human Resources is testing new procedures for determining noncooperation of custodial parents in establishing paternity and child support, and is transferring responsibility for determining noncooperation and good cause from the AFDC to the CSE agency; and Nebraska is testing a new phone interviewing process aimed both at gathering better information from the custodial parent and improving child support collections from the noncustodial parent. (For more information contact Penny Pendall HHA/FSA/OFA at (202) 245-2637)

Teenage Parent Demonstration

The Teenage Parent Demonstration is being operated by the public welfare agencies in Illinois and New Jersey. The overall goal of the demonstration is to increase economic self-sufficiency and reduce welfare dependency among teenage single parents. The success of the demonstration will be judged by whether there are (1) increased rates of employment; (2) increased earnings; (3) reduction in dependence on AFDC and other public assistance programs; (4) increased educational attainment—improved basic skills; (5) delayed subsequent pregnancies; and (6) increased rates of paternity establishment and child support payments. The demonstration includes a special emphasis on child support. In each site, the Child Support Enforcement agency will give priority to those teenage mothers who are participating in the programs. Thus, increased efforts will be made to establish paternity soon after the birth of the baby and to help collect child support payments. The fathers of the participants' children will be eligible to receive special employment-related services designed to enhance their long-term ability to make support payments. Fathers who receive welfare will be required either to work or to participate in job-related activities in order to maintain their AFDC eligibility. (For more information contact Reuben Snipper, HHS/ASPE at (202) 245-1880 or Nancye Campbell, HHS/FSA at (202) 245-2139)

Information on the progress and results of these demonstrations will be disseminated to states and other interested parties.

Part V: Conclusions

Part V: Conclusions

Four main themes recurred throughout this project and serve to summarize the main conclusions of this report.

First, unwed fathers need to be held responsible for their children, and should be required to fulfill the minimum obligations of fatherhood: legally establishing paternity and paying financial support. For this to occur, all sectors of society need to be made aware of these basic obligations and informed about policies and programs designed to facilitate and enforce them. This includes the young mothers, the youths' families, community leaders, and the various professionals who come into contact with young people, and young parents in particular.

Second, it is generally in the best interests of children not only to know who their fathers are and receive some financial support from them, but also to have some contact with them as they grow up. To encourage young unwed fathers to sustain a relationship with their children to whatever degree possible, is to make a positive investment in our country's future.

Third, young unwed fathers need to be enabled and empowered to fulfill their responsibilities and become involved in fathering. Too often they lack the necessary self-respect, requisite skills, and employment opportunities. Many, though clearly not all, young fathers who are provided with some counseling and job training assistance can become productive members of society and contribute to the financial support of their children. These accomplishments would enhance their perceptions of themselves as effective in their role as fathers. It would also help meet the need for skilled workers predicted by the year 2000.

Fourth, these challenges are not easy to meet. They require cooperation across public and private agencies, and close collaboration among program staff, community leaders, academic researchers, and government officers. There is still much we don't know. Many barriers need to be overcome, and difficult dilemmas remain unresolved. Those shaping policies in these uncertain areas will need to strike a balance between the competing claims and duties of fathers, mothers, children, and society as a whole.

This project provided a forum for an exchange of information, ideas, opinions, and perspectives. It generated a number of promising options and approaches. Though many questions remain, there is enough positive evidence to suggest that progress can be made toward the goal of encouraging young unwed fathers to become considerably more involved.

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Selected References Related to Young Fatherhood

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Appendix A: Summaries of Commissioned Papers

Appendix A: Summary of Commissioned Papers

Young Unwed Fathers Project

#1. Josefina J. Card, Ph.D.: ***Inventory and Assessment of Data Sources on Young Male Sexuality, Contraception and Fatherhood*, as found in the Data Archives on Adolescent Pregnancy and Pregnancy Prevention (DAAPPP). Summary paper and Appendix.**

This paper introduces and describes the Data Archives on Adolescent Pregnancy and Pregnancy Prevention (DAAPPP) established in 1982 by the U.S. Office of Population Affairs to encourage research on current problems relating to adolescent pregnancy and family planning. The purpose of the archives is to assemble, in one place, the best data available, make them publicly accessible for secondary analysis, and promote and encourage their use.

For the Young Unwed Fathers project, Dr. Card conducted a search in 1986 of the 85 data bases in the archives to determine data currently available on young males. Her paper lists, and briefly describes, the ten data sets that emerged from this search. She reports, however, that most of the variables in these data sets were related to young males' education, family background, personality, and sexual behavior (including contraceptive use). There was very little data on unmarried fathers, per se. However, new data sources are being continually added to the Archives, including several that specifically provide information on young males and young fathers.

Dr. Card's summary paper is supplemented by an Appendix consisting of an extensive detailed inventory providing detailed information on the key characteristics of the ten data sets with information on young males (list of variables by topic, distribution of the variables by sample, etc). This Appendix can be obtained directly from Sociometrics Corporation, 3191 Cowper Street, Palo Alto, California 94306. (Send check for $27.50)

#2. Michael E. Connor, Ph.D.:
Black Dads — Here They Are!

In this paper, the author reviews some of the social science and popular literature on black males and black families, concluding that these works have historically been characterized by negative perceptions, personal biases, and a failure to account for the systematic exclusion of black males by white society from all facets of life. He comments on the fact that research has not focused on the strengths of black males and black families, ignoring the possibility that "... For survival purposes, a reasonable assumption is that the black family in the U.S., regardless of its socioeconomic status, has adapted to its situation (i.e., discrimination, segregation, prejudice, poor economic and educational opportunities, etc.)..." but has not been studied from this perspective. Such a focus may serve to counteract the prevailing stereotype of black males as uninvolved and uninterested in parenting, and black families as disorganized and disruptive.

To demonstrate his point, the author cites research results, as well as personal experiences from workshops that he runs for fathers, indicating that many black fathers see themselves as involved, loving and caring with their families; that many black women see black fathers as loving and caring of their families; that some black adolescent fathers are accepting of fatherhood and concerned about their children's futures; and that black families have many strengths including strong kinship ties, strong religious and work orientations, and equalitarian and adaptable family patterns.

While criticizing the stereotypical view of black males as fathers, the author expresses grave concerns about the increasing incidences of fatherhood among adolescent black men, and provides many innovative suggestions for curbing this trend. In particular, he notes that, with respect to young males (regardless of ethnicity), "... we must get the message across that making a baby is not a sign of manhood (or adulthood), that making a baby doesn't take any special talent or skill, that not taking care of one's children is both irresponsible and reprehensible, that sex is for adults who understand the consequences and accept the responsibilities, and that a measure of an adult is not having children, but adequately rearing them."

#3. Arthur B. Elster, M.D.: *Adolescent Fathers: Fact, Fiction, and Implications for Federal Policy.*

This paper provides a summary of the results of several recent clinical and descriptive studies of adolescent fathers, including the author's, and discusses the implications of these results for Federal policy. According to the author, studies conducted over the past decade have found that: (1) young fathers, regardless of ethnicity, are more committed to parenthood than previously thought; (2) young fathers, again regardless of ethnicity, share similar stresses related to their abilities to financially support their children, and their difficulties in relationships with their partners and the parents of their partners; and (3) young fathers are not a homogeneous group psychosocially, but appear to be classifiable into two groups—one with relatively severe conduct problems, and the other exhibiting developmentally appropriate behaviors. The author also reports that adolescent mothers whose partners are more than three years older than themselves tend to exhibit more frequent incidences of conduct disorder than those who have male partners closer to their own ages.

In his discussion of the implications of these findings for social policy, Dr. Elster focuses on the ability of young fathers to financially and emotionally support their families, and provides recommendations for policies that aid young fathers who are motivated to parent their children. The author notes that many young fathers who are married face similar problems regarding financial and emotional support, yet this population is often overlooked simply because they are married.

#4. George W. Harris, Ph.D.: *Legal and Ethical Dimensions of Young Unwed Fatherhood.*

Questions about the moral and legal rights and responsibilities of young unwed fathers with regard to paternity, custody, child support, and adoption are given careful consideration in this paper. Using the philosophical perspective of Immanuel Kant as a framework, the author establishes the criteria for rights and responsibilities based on Kant's formulations of what is involved in treating individuals as persons with intrinsic worth on their own.

The discussion of moral rights and responsibilities focuses on those that obtain whether or not legal sanctions apply, and places the rights and responsibilities of unwed fathers in the context of balancing the rights and responsibilities of the other parties involved—the child, the mother, the grandparents, and the public. The specific questions concern the father's right to procreate, and his rights to paternity, to custody, and to visitation that obtain when he does have the moral right to procreate. The author also addresses the rights of the child to adequate levels of prenatal and postnatal care, personal nurturing, the amenities of life, and custodial arrangements. He considers the rights of the public to be free of unnecessary welfare burdens and of undue threats from delinquent children of teenage parents, while acknowledging the difficulty of deciding on what policies are justified in enforcing against the irresponsible sexual, procreational and family practices of teenage parents—especially fathers—in the name of protecting these rights.

The author's discussion of legal rights and responsibilities is restricted to the constitutional issues of equal protection under the law and due process as they are relevant to issues of the unwed father's role in custody and adoption. Supreme Court decisions on these issues are reviewed with a focus on the differential treatment of married vs. unmarried fathers, and adult vs. minority status fathers, as well as the role of the state in balancing family rights (those of the father, mother, and child), and in balancing family and public rights.

#5. Margaret Kohn, J.D.: *Child Support Enforcement and Young Unwed Fathers.*

The aim of this exploratory research project was to determine whether young unwed fathers (up to age 25) are treated differently from other fathers by child support enforcement agencies and, if so, to ascertain some of the reasons for this differential treatment. Information was obtained through telephone interviews with attorneys and administrators involved in child support enforcement work in IV-D agencies in 12 geographically diverse states.

With respect to paternity, the author's survey reveals that: (1) some agencies adjudicate paternity in cases with young unwed fathers just as they would for older men; (2) some agencies (jurisdictions) assign low priority to cases involving young unwed fathers that require a paternity adjudication before a support order can be obtained; (3) some agencies only process those cases in which the young unwed father is employed; and (4) some jurisdictions defer processing the cases of minor young unwed fathers until they reach the age of majority to avoid the need for the appointment of a guardian ad litem, or the referral to a juvenile court in a criminal proceeding. The major reasons given by agency personnel in cases where differential treatment applied were: (1) the high volume of cases in comparison to the available resources; and, (2) the need to maximize collections for federal incentive payment purposes.

The author found that if the young unwed father is not a student, and not a minor, he will be treated as any other non-custodial father for purposes of support. As with other, older, non-custodial parents, the amount of support ordered for young unwed fathers is based, in large part, upon the earnings of the individual. As a general rule, young unwed fathers are not required to interrupt or terminate their secondary education in order to secure a job to meet child support payments. While it is the norm in some jurisdictions to impose token ($5 - $10) orders on high school students, this practice may conflict with some state guidelines for the calculation of child support payment levels. It appears that no research has been conducted to determine the long-term effects of token orders either on later payment regularity or level, or on the quality of the father's relationship with his child.

In her paper, Ms. Kohn describes a selection of several new programmatic efforts to improve paternity determination and meet the service needs of young unwed fathers. She ends the paper with several recommendations for policy development and further research and discussion.

#6. M. Laurie Leitch, Ph.D. and Anne M. Gonzalez, LCSW: *Involving the Young Unwed Father in Pregnancy and Adoption Counseling.*

The question of how young fathers are involved in services to pregnant teenagers was addressed in this exploratory examination of the attitudes and experiences of workers and administrators in a sample of 12 agencies that reported that they worked with the young fathers. These programs differed with respect to the variety of services offered, and their setting: some centers providing primarily pregnancy counseling, and others a wide range of services to pregnant teens and teen mothers. The authors also drew on their own program and consulting experiences.

Telephone interviews were conducted covering the following issues: (1) program philosophy and goals for fathers; (2) extent and types of involvement; (3) variations in involvement strategies based on the pregnant teens' resolution preferences; (4) involvement of paternal grandparents; and (5) effects of male involvement on the pregnancy decision-making process.

Some general findings of this study were: (1) putative fathers appear to have a strong influence on a pregnant teen's decision-making process; (2) programs tend to see the pregnant teen as their primary client, and services to fathers are oriented toward strengthening their support of the mothers; (3) a few programs attempt to involve fathers as early on in the pregnancy as possible, with the consent of the mother, others only do so when placement for adoption is being considered; (4) agencies employ a variety of involvement strategies for males, the most successful of which appear to be recreational or prenatal care activities, rather than counseling or employment referral; and (5) agencies that provide comprehensive programs for mothers, including adoption counseling, are more likely to actively seek fathers' involvement and provide services for them than those that are primarily health-care oriented.

The authors found that paternal grandparents were rarely seen by agency personnel and, when they were, it was at their initiation rather than at the suggestion of the agency. Involving paternal grandparents was not seen as a function of most of the agencies, although they clearly played an important role in the decision about the pregnancy.

The authors discuss the program-related factors that appear to influence the involvement of unwed fathers and maternal and paternal grandparents by program staff. These factors include the community setting (rural/urban), administrative costs and incentives, staff training and development, service strategies, and overall philosophy towards involvement.

#7. Robert I. Lerman, Ph.D.: *A National Profile of Young Unwed Fathers: Who Are They and How Are They Parenting?*

The National Longitudinal Study of Labor Force Behavior (NLS) provides ongoing information on child-bearing, household and family status, educational attainment, employment and earnings, and family background on a national sample of 12,686 youths (6,400 males) who were 14-22 years old in 1979. In this paper, the author presents the 1984 and 1985 data from the NLS relevant to young unwed fathers and focusing on their demographic and psychosocial characteristics, and their activities as parents with respect to child support and visitation. Prior to discussing the data, the author notes some difficulty with data accuracy in that young unwed females report having almost two times as many children than do young unwed males, while married males and females do not exhibit this reporting difference.

The data descriptive of the characteristics of young unwed fathers pertain to how long they remain unmarried and living apart from their children; how they differ by age, race, ethnic origin and family background; how they differ from their peers who are not unwed fathers with respect to ability, achievement in school and the job market, and their involvement in crime, drugs, and alcohol; and the factors that influence the incidence and duration of unwed fatherhood.

The discussion of parenting activities provides data in response to the questions of whether young fathers ignore their children and avoid paying child support; whether they are even capable of helping their children financially; and what their household and family situations are.

While the findings reported in this paper are too numerous to report in this summary, a few of the many highlights are: (1) In 1984, nearly one-half of all 19-20 year old fathers were unwed fathers; (2) Unwed fathers in 1984 (19-26 years of age) had worse school and work backgrounds, higher incidences of cocaine and heroin use, and greater incidences of criminal activity than young men of the same race who do not become unwed fathers. However, these differences were far greater for white fathers than for black fathers; (3) The higher the family income, the lower the likelihood of unwed fatherhood; and, (4) Living in a family that received welfare benefits in 1979 had a significant impact on unwed fatherhood.

#8. Joelle Sander, M.A.: *The Teen Father Collaboration: A National Research and Demonstration Project.*

In 1983, the Ford Foundation and eight community foundations across the country launched the Teen Father Collaboration project. Eight service organizations in different communities participated in this project designed to provide services to adolescent fathers (15-19 years of age). Seven of these agencies were already providing services to pregnant or parenting teenage females, and one was set up to serve only fathers and fathers-to-be. The Collaboration project was directed and documented by the Bank Street College of Education.

In this paper, the author provides some descriptive information about the 395 young fathers served by this program over a two year period, noting that they were from ethnically diverse populations; that over 60% had dropped out of school before completion; that 73% were emotionally involved with the mothers of their children and, on the average, had been so for at least a year prior to the pregnancy; that 72% had daily contact with the mothers, and that 82% had daily contact with their children.

The initial goals of the agencies with respect to the problems encountered by the young men themselves are discussed. Those specific service components found by the author to be characteristic of successful programs were: a cadre of core services for teen fathers; community linkages to relevant programs and agencies; full-time skilled male staff; and innovative strategies for recruiting fathers.

The author also reviews findings concerning the barriers to successful service delivery including problems arising from aspects of the teen male population itself and those pertaining to program staffing difficulties and program organization. A major finding was that the agencies that were most successful in working with young fathers were those that had an administrative commitment to working with these young men and were willing to view the young men as primary clients along with the young women that they were traditionally designed to serve.

#9. Morton H. Sklar, J.D.:
Employment and Training for Unwed Fathers: An Unmet and Unrecognized Need.

In this paper, the author reviews the literature relevant to the relationship between unemployment and adolescent unwed pregnancy; examines the extent to which the job related needs of young fathers have been addressed; provides a discussion of programs currently serving young fathers with regard to their employment and training needs; and makes recommendations regarding the basic components that need to be included in employment and training programs designed to serve unwed fathers and disadvantaged youth in general.

The conclusion of the literature review is that the problems of teen unwed pregnancy, unemployment, and basic skill deficiencies are inexorably linked. Increases in out-of-wedlock births and female-headed families among low-income blacks, was cited as tied to the changing labor market status of young black males. Young men with poor basic academic skills were described as being three times as likely as their more skilled peers to become teen fathers.

The author acknowledges the importance of employment and educational training for young unwed fathers. He expresses the opinion, based on his review of available programs, that there has been an absence of a strong mandate from the federal government in support of youth employment initiatives, and that there have been relatively few programs or projects generated at the state and local levels. With respect to teen fathers in particular, the picture is even bleaker with little job training or assistance specifically designed and targeted for this population. The author also reviews programs set up under the Job Training Partnership Act, and concludes that these programs are not sufficient to meet the needs of either disadvantaged youth in general or young unwed fathers in particular.

As exceptions to this general statement, the author describes a few recent community program initiatives that are attempting to meet the employment needs of young fathers and mothers. He recommends that additional model programs be developed that would target assistance to those most in need, and cites the necessary components of such programs. In particular, the author feels that such programs would need to take a comprehensive approach to the young fathers, would have to emphasize remedial education in the basic academic skills, and must develop a coordinated and collaborative effort among the schools, business, and job training communities.

#10. Mercer L. Sullivan, Ph.D.: *Ethnographic Research on Young Fathers and Parenting: Implications for Public Policy.*

This paper reports on ethnographic research with 24 young fathers (ages 15-22 years) in two urban neighborhoods with high rates of welfare dependency—one with a predominantly black population, and the other with a primarily Hispanic population. The social processes by which the young men decided to accept or not accept responsibility for their children are described along with the way in which some of them attempted to act responsibly. Several implications of this information for research and public policy are discussed.

While the small sample size precludes statistical generalizations, the information presented, obtained over a period of months and, in some cases, years, offers an in-depth portrait of young fathers and their communities that often contradicts prevailing stereotypes of these men as uncaring, and their communities as uninvolved. The author provides descriptions of the two communities with respect to cultural traditions and norms, economic and employment conditions, and educational backgrounds. This is followed by information about the informal community-based processes brought to bear on young parents regarding acknowledging paternity and establishing rights and responsibilities. The paper offers many quotes from young fathers themselves reflecting their attitudes, problems, opinions, and observations of other young fathers in their communities.

One of the many important findings of this paper pertains to the similarities and differences between the black and Hispanic communities with regard to community processes and expectations for unwed parenthood. For example, the young Hispanic fathers in this study were more likely than the young black fathers to marry the mothers of their children, and to leave school and seek full-time employment. However, these Hispanic fathers were less likely than the black fathers to engage in direct child care activities, and their marriages were often unstable and of short duration. The author suggests that these differences reflect differences in the two communities with respect to norms and traditions rather than individual differences among the young men themselves, who tend to be very similar in psychosocial characteristics, educational backgrounds, and labor market experiences.

Appendix B: Federal Program Descriptions

Child Support and Young Unwed Parents

Welfare and Young Unwed Parents

Adolescent Family Life Program

Job Training Partnership Act Programs

Appendix B: Federal Program Descriptions

Child Support and Young Unwed Parents: the Federal/State Child Support Enforcement Program

How does Child Support Enforcement differ from welfare?

The Child Support Enforcement program is intended to ensure that parents fulfill their responsibility to support their children, even when they no longer live (or never have lived) with them. The welfare programs are intended to ensure that all children have sufficient resources to cover basic necessities such as food, clothing, and shelter. In some states, welfare programs provide benefits mostly to single parent families; other states also provide benefits to many two-parent families when the primary wage earner is unemployed. The Child Support Enforcement program must provide services to all AFDC recipient families when a parent is alive but absent from the home, but families do not have to be on welfare to get help from the Child Support Enforcement program. All states are required to provide the same services to non-AFDC families that they provide to AFDC families. Non-AFDC families must make an application for services, and there may be a small fee (up to $25) charged at the time of application. Services that must be available through a state child support program are: locate services, including access to the Federal Parent Locator Service; establishment of paternity; establishment of child support orders, including provisions for medical support; and the enforcement of child support orders, using mandatory techniques such as wage-withholding and federal and state income tax refund offset programs.

How does the Child Support System affect young unwed parents?

The child support statute (Title IV-D of the Social Security Act) makes no distinction in the delivery of services based on the age of the parents. However, in practice, young unwed parents are probably the group least likely to come into contact with the child support system. State child support services are only required to be provided to families who are receiving AFDC, or who apply for services. (A preliminary analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth indicates that only about one-half of all unmarried adolescent mothers (15-19) receive welfare benefits within 12 months after the birth of their first child.) There is also some concern that these AFDC, child support cases are not likely to be processed because many states prioritize based on the putative father's ability to pay child support. If a young unwed parent is not receiving AFDC, there is no requirement to provide assistance in establishing paternity and child support unless such actions are requested. Unfortunately, it appears that young unwed parents are unlikely to voluntarily request assistance, and social service or educational programs, and their parents are equally unlikely to encourage them to do so.

Why is the government concerned about establishing paternity?

There are many reasons why the government is concerned about establishing paternity. One of the primary reasons is fiscal relief. Establishment of paternity is a necessary prerequisite to establishing and collecting child support, and receipt of child support is instrumental in reducing dependency on government welfare programs and off-setting some of the cost of those programs. But the federal government also supports the establishment of paternity because it is consistent with the generally held belief that parents ought to be responsible for the welfare of their children regardless of the parents' marital status and because establishment of paternity is usually in the best interest of the child (and the parents). Establishment of paternity provides a child with the potential of obtaining a complete family health history and, if needed, genetic counseling. Establishing paternity also provides access to other benefits such as disability, survivors, and retirement benefits under the Social Security Act programs. If the father joins the military, it gives children access to benefits such as a family allowance or health services under CHAMPUS. Lastly, it provides for the right of inheritance in case of the father's death.

What steps have to be taken to establish paternity?

The state child support enforcement agency is required to try to establish paternity for all AFDC children, where paternity has not been legally established, and for non-AFDC children when the custodial parent has filed an application for services. There may be a small one-time fee associated with filing an application, but it cannot be in excess of $25. States may also recover the cost of providing services to non-AFDC families, but most states have chosen not to do so. Based on information provided by the custodial parent, the child support agency would locate the putative father and ascertain if he would voluntarily acknowledge paternity. If paternity is acknowledged voluntarily, some states additionally may require that the Court enter a judgment of paternity. State laws vary as to whether or not a father's signature on the birth certificate is acceptable as the basis for Court judgment of paternity. States also vary in the due process protections offered to indigent or minor fathers in defending against claims of paternity.

If paternity is not voluntarily acknowledged, then depending on the state and circumstances, civil or criminal proceedings will be instituted, and the court will decide paternity based on scientific and testimonial evidence. As a part of this process, a blood test, or some other type of genetic typing, may be required.

Depending on the state and the type of test, this evidence is used to exclude the putative father from being considered as a possible father of the child, or may be used as presumptive proof that he is the father. Currently, the most reliable test in widespread use is the HLA, or human leucocyte antigen test. This test confirms the identity of the father, or excludes him, with over a 95 percent probability. The results of the HLA blood test frequently lead to a voluntary acknowledgement in cases where there was an initial denial, and an actual trial will be avoided. The cost of this test ranges from $200 to $500 depending on the laboratory.

What steps need to be taken to get child support?

Child support cannot be established until paternity has been determined. If the child's parents are married at the time of birth, then establishment of paternity is not necessary as the husband is presumed to be the legal father, unless evidence is presented to the contrary by either party. If the IV-D agency is to assist in establishing child support, and the custodial parent is not receiving AFDC, an application must be filed with the IV-D agency, and the state may charge a small one-time application fee (limited by law to $25). Some states also may seek to recover the costs associated with the services provided. Once the application is filed, the IV-D agency will usually use the same procedures to establish paternity and child support for AFDC and non-AFDC cases.

The first step to obtaining child support is to locate the father. If the information provided by the mother is inadequate to locate the father, the state might contact the Federal Parent Locator System (FPLS). The FPLS uses the records of federal agencies, such as the Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service, to find the social security numbers, current addresses and places of employment of absent parents. Using the information provided by the FPLS, the IV-D agency would locate the father. Once the father was located, the case would be brought before the appropriate judicial or administrative official (this varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction) for disposition.

All states are required to adopt, by October 1, 1987, mandatory or discretionary child support guidelines to facilitate setting the child support award amount so that families in like circumstances have like child support orders. All states must request that child support order include provisions for medical support as well, if employment-based private health insurance is available to the non-custodial parent. As a part of this process, the custodial parent may have to testify in court or at other state established proceedings. If assistance from the IV-D agency is not requested, then the custodial parent would need to hire a private lawyer to undertake the necessary action.

How does receipt of child support affect welfare payments?

When an individual applies for AFDC on behalf of herself and her family, she must make an assignment of rights to the state of all other forms of cash support for which she might be eligible. This support, primarily child support and alimony, is then used by the state and the federal government to recoup the costs of providing benefits. This treatment is slightly different from the treatment of other earned and unearned income, where the recipient gets the income (wages, social security payment, SSI, etc.), and her AFDC benefit is reduced accordingly. Another difference between child support and other income is that the custodial parent will receive up to the first fifty dollars of current child support paid each month in addition to her full monthly AFDC payment. While this $50.00 payment does not count as income for AFDC purposes, it is taken into account in determining eligibility and benefits for other means-tested programs, e.g., it would reduce food stamp benefits. Because of this pass-through provision, women receiving child support can have slightly higher incomes (up to $600 per year) than women with other kinds of income, and still receive AFDC. However, if the child support payment, or the child support payment in combination with other income, is sufficiently high, a family might be ineligible to receive AFDC benefits.

Administration

The Child Support Enforcement Program is administered by the Office of Child Support Enforcement in the Family Support Administration, HHS. The statutory authority for the program is Title IV-D of the Social Security Act.

Welfare and Young Unwed Parents: the Federal/State Welfare Programs

What welfare programs are available for young unwed parents?

The term "welfare" generally encompasses three programs—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and Food Stamps. AFDC provides cash assistance, Medicaid provides health care services, and Food Stamps provides cash equivalency coupons which can only be used for the purchase of food. Other programs, such as public housing, may be available as well. The AFDC and Medicaid programs are state-federal partnerships, with each paying a part of the cost of providing benefits. The Food Stamp program is totally funded by the federal government, but it is usually administered by the same state or county officials that run the AFDC program. All 50 states, and the District of Columbia, operate AFDC and Food Stamp programs. Arizona is the only jurisdiction which does not run a Medicaid program; however, it is currently operating a demonstration program which provides similar kinds of health care services.

How much cash welfare can an unmarried parent get?

Welfare benefits vary from state to state. States, not the federal government, determine the level of cash assistance from the AFDC program. For example, in January of 1986, a family of one adult and one child with zero countable income, and the same expenses, would receive a basic benefit of $88 in Alabama, $250 in Illinois, $474 in California, and $657 in Alaska. Food Stamp benefits are set nationally, based on the poverty standard, so that when cash assistance and food stamps are considered together, some of the differences in state cash assistance payments is tempered by the food stamp allowance. Combined benefits in the same four states would be $235, $351, $508, and $714, respectively.

Benefit amounts also vary based on family and household composition. The benefit level for a minor mother and her child would differ depending on whether she lived by herself, with parents who were also receiving AFDC, with parents who had earnings or other income, or in some cases, in a shared household with a non-relative. As with the maximum benefit amount, states vary in how different living arrangements affect the benefit amount.

What does a young unwed mother have to do to get AFDC?

To get AFDC and Food Stamps, a young woman would apply at her local welfare office. In some states these are run by county or city governments, and in other states they are run directly by the state government. While both AFDC and Food Stamp eligibility is initially determined at the local level, states differ in whether separate or combined applications need to be made, since the eligibility criteria are not the same for both programs.

Certain eligibility requirements have to be met in order to receive benefits. For Food Stamps, the primary criterion is **household income**. For AFDC, the unit of eligibility is family rather than household, so **family income** rather than household income is used. AFDC has other criteria as well: there has to be a child in the home, or the woman has to have a medical certification that she is in the third trimester of pregnancy and, except for incapacity cases or states that run an AFDC-Unemployed Parent program, the child's father cannot be living in the home.

In addition to filing an application and meeting the eligibility criteria, a young woman has to assign any rights to support and agree to cooperate with the state in determining paternity and establishing child support. This would mean providing the name of her child's father, his address and place of employment, if known. Other information necessary to identify and locate the father can be asked as well. If a young woman refuses to provide this information, she can be denied benefits unless the state determines there is "good cause." Good cause can be invoked in cases of incest or rape, or when there is actual or threatened physical abuse of the mother or child, and in certain other specific circumstances. Benefits for the child cannot be denied when a mother refuses to cooperate in establishing paternity or establishing and collecting child support.

Won't Medicaid pay for all the needed health care for a young woman and her child?

State Medicaid programs must provide health care, including prenatal, well-baby, outpatient, and inpatient care, to certain groups of people. One group is individuals receiving AFDC. The Consolidated Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1987 also mandated that states provide medical coverage through their Medicaid program to pregnant women once a doctor has confirmed the pregnancy, and children under five who are AFDC-like families, or whose medical costs would make them eligible for health care. This new provision does expand the number of poor pregnant women and young children who are eligible for health care. However, while a basic level of health care may be available to most pregnant and parenting teens who need such care, nationally, statistics show that many young women tend not to seek care in the early months of pregnancy. This behavior, which may or may not be related to the availability of care, places these young women and their children at high risk of mortality and morbidity.

Doesn't a woman have to work or go to school, if she is receiving welfare?

There is currently no requirement that all women on welfare must work or go to school in order to get welfare benefits. Women with children six or older must register for employment and work-related activities, but in many states there is not sufficient work or related training activities to require that all women participate. A few state programs (some on a demonstration basis) have required women with children age three and older to participate in work activities. For the most part, there also are no required state education activities for young women with children, unless the young mother would still be receiving benefits as a dependent child in her parent's household. States may require dependent children ages 16 to 18 to remain in school in order to receive AFDC benefits.

The Department of Health and Human Services is currently conducting a five-year demonstration program which would require that young AFDC recipients finish high school, get a GED, participate in job training, or work as appropriate to their age and skill level. This demonstration is limited to a few sites in two states; however, other states would be able to develop their own programs under existing waiver authorities for the AFDC program.

Doesn't the law require grandparents to be responsible for the children of their minor children?

One state, Wisconsin, has passed a time-limited state law which makes both maternal and paternal grandparents responsible to care for the children of their minor children. While philosophically this law makes an important statement about parental responsibility, its practical effect is limited. While almost half of the out-of-wedlock births to women in their teens were to minors (women under age 18), this represents only 125,000 out-of-wedlock births nationwide, and an even smaller number of fathers would be minors. For women under age 18 who remain in their parent's home and apply for benefits on behalf of themselves and their child, federal law already assumes parental responsibility. Federal law requires that parental income be used to determine the eligibility for AFDC benefits of such a minor mother and her child.

Can a young unwed father get welfare?

A young unwed father might be eligible for welfare under several circumstances. He may receive benefits as a dependent child if he is living with his parents or a caretaker relative and is under age 18 (or, at state option, age 19, if he is attending school). A young unwed father may get benefits if he is living with his child and the child's mother, and he or the child's mother is incapacitated or, in a state which has an Unemployed Parent program, he has been employed for 6 quarters of a 13 quarter period within one year prior to filing for AFDC benefits. Lastly, a young unwed father with custody of his child could file for basic AFDC benefits on behalf of himself and his child.

Administration

The AFDC program is administered by the Office of Family Assistance in the Family Support Administration, HHS. The statutory authority for the program is Title IV-A of the Social Security Act.

The Medicaid Program is administered by the Health Care Financing Administration, HHS. The statutory authority for Medicaid is Title XIX of the Social Security Act.

The Food Stamp Program is administered by the Food and Nutrition Service, Department of Agriculture. The statutory authority for the Food Stamp Program is the Food Stamp Act of 1977.

The Adolescent Family Life Program

The Adolescent Family Life (AFL) program emphasizes parental involvement, postponement of sexual activity, and adoption as a positive alternative to early parenting. It also provides comprehensive health, education, and social services designed to help teenage mothers have healthy babies and to improve subsequent life prospects for both infants and mothers.

Research Activities

The Adolescent Family Life Office provides support for research projects dealing with various aspects of adolescent pregnancy, including the determinants and consequences of premarital sexual activity, decision-making for the resolution of teen pregnancy, the effects of care services on pregnancy outcome, and the subsequent development of the adolescent and her infant.

A goal of the research component is to generate knowledge that can be applied in the demonstration program. For instance, studies that focus on factors which influence adolescent sexual activity have important implications for the design of prevention demonstration projects; findings which address issues of adolescent decision-making in adoption can likewise be applied when designing program components for adoption.

Demonstration Activities

The AFL Demonstration Program assists local communities and institutions in developing and testing models of comprehensive programs which discourage premarital adolescent sexual relations through prevention services and, when prevention is unsuccessful, to reduce the negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy through care services. AFL authorizes grants for three types of demonstrations: (1) projects that provide "care services" only (i.e., services for the provision of comprehensive services to pregnant adolescents, adolescent parents and their families); (2) projects that provide "prevention services" only (i.e., services to promote abstinence from adolescent premarital sexual relations); and (3) projects that provide a combination of care and prevention services.

Care projects are required to provide, either directly or through referral, ten core services including: pregnancy testing and maternity counseling; adoption counseling and referral; prenatal and postnatal health care; nutrition services; family life education; education and vocational services, and may provide additional supplementary services such as child care and family counseling.

The demonstration projects are multi-year projects (3 to 5 years), and are renewable annually. In 1987 AFL funded 88 projects. Of these, 47 are care, 35 are prevention, and 6 are care projects jointly funded with the Department of Labor.

Each demonstration project has an internal evaluation component designed to test hypotheses specific to that project's service delivery model. Projects are evaluated by an independent evaluator contracted by each grantee. Evaluators are usually affiliated with a college or university in the grantee's state.

Administration

The Adolescent Family Life (AFL) Program is administered by the Office of Population Affairs in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health, HHS. The statutory authority for the program is Title XX of the Public Health Services Act. The AFL program publishes grant announcements in the Federal Register several times a year inviting research and demonstration proposals.

Job Training and Partnership Act Programs

What Is the Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA)?

The Job Training and Partnership Act (JTPA), which became fully operational October 1, 1983, provides job training and employment services for economically disadvantaged adults and youth, dislocated workers, and others—such as Native Americans, migrant and seasonal farm workers, veterans and older workers—who face significant employment barriers. The goal of this Act is to move the jobless into permanent, unsubsidized, self-sustaining employment.

State and local governments have primary responsibilities for the management and administration of job training programs under JTPA. Governors have approval authority over locally developed plans and are responsible for monitoring program compliance with the Act. In addition, a new public/private partnership has been created to plan and design training programs as well as to deliver training and other services.

What are the various sections of the JTPA?

JTPA contains five titles:

Title I - Job Training Partnership - establishes the administrative structure for the delivery of job training services as well as development and approval of local job training plans and provides for performance standards. This title deals with the formulation and designation of the following:

State Job Training Coordinating Councils (SJTCCs) - formed by Governors to provide advice and counsel on training components of the Act.

Service Delivery Areas (SDAs) - designated by Governors to receive federal job training funds.

Private Industry Councils (PICs) - appointed by local elected officials to plan job training and employment service programs at the SDA level.

Title II-A - Training Services for the Disadvantaged - provides for a system of block grants to states to support local training and employment programs.

Title II-B - Summer Youth Employment and Training Program (SYETP) - provides economically disadvantaged youth with employment and related training and educational services during the summer months.

Title III - Employment and Training Assistance for Dislocated Workers - authorizes a program targeted to workers who have been displaced from their jobs or are about to be laid off, are eligible for or have exhausted their entitlement to unemployment compensation, and are unlikely to return to their previous occupation or industry.

Title IV - Federally Administered Programs - authorizes federal programs for **Native Americans, migrant and seasonal farm workers, and veterans**. This title also authorizes the **Job Corps**, the National Commission for Employment Policy and nationally administered programs for technical assistance, labor market information, research and evaluation, and pilots and demonstrations.

Title V - Miscellaneous Provisions - amends the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933, which authorizes the Federal/State Employment Services programs and amends the Social Security Act provisions relating to the Work Incentive (WIN) program.

What JTPA programs emphasize services to young men and women?

The JTPA is the major federal legislation authorizing employment and training for youth and young adults. Several sections of the act explicitly target this population.

Title II-A, Training Services for the Disadvantaged, is a year round program. It specifies that 40 percent of its funds be allocated for services to disadvantaged youth. Teen parents can qualify for II-A 40 percent youth activities as economically disadvantaged individuals or as individuals who face other "barriers to employment" under a 10 percent window clause. How services are directed to youth and whether young parents become a target group is determined by each state, in partnership with local communities and private industry.

Title II-B, the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program, provides economically disadvantaged youth, aged 16-21, with employment and related training and educational services during the summer months. Funds are available for basic and remedial education, on-the-job training, work experience programs, outreach and enrollment activities and job search training and placement. This program is a good option for young parents, although it is by design a short-term alternative. Again, decisions about targeting are made at the state and local levels.

The Job Corps, one of the federally administered programs authorized in Title IV, provides educational, vocational, and social skills training to disadvantaged youth aged 16-21 primarily in a residential setting. The Job Corps, which has been in existence for 23 years, also provides counseling and health services to enrollees. The Job Corps could be an alternative for young fathers that provides the training they need.

Also authorized in Title IV are programs for Native Americans and migrant and seasonal farm workers. These programs can provide services to teenagers and young adults, although services are not targeted to this age group. However, over the past few years, nearly one-third of participants have been young people between 16 and 21.

The U.S. Employment Service and affiliated State Employment Security Agencies, often referred to as the "Employment Agency," is another resource for young fathers. Services provided cover a wide range of employment related activities, including testing, counseling, referral to training and job placement, and labor market information about jobs.

What features of JTPA may serve as barriers to serving young fathers?

JTPA must serve "all" eligible individuals. As such, it is very competitive and not specifically targeted to young parents. The majority of JTPA Title II-A grants are contracted out on a "performance" basis. It might be difficult to adequately meet JTPA standards given the multiple barriers many teen fathers face.

Since there are limits on costs for support services, programs operating with JTPA funds need to find supplementary sources of funding for key support services. Needs of young fathers, other than for training and employment services, often have to be met from alternative sources.

How does one learn more about JTPA programs in local communities?

Contact state and local JTPA offices, Job Service offices (See State Government listings in the telephone directory under such names as Employment Security Commission or Employment Service), or write to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training, U.S. Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20210

Administration

The Job Training Partnership Act program is administered by the Employment and Training Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Appendix C: Research in Progress

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

Research In Progress Pertaining To Young Unwed Fathers: National Institute of Health and Human Development

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development currently supports several studies of family dynamics that will provide information on the behavior of unwed fathers in the future. Preliminary results of several studies indicate that even in the situation of marriage and divorce, it is important to obtain information from both parents in order to ascertain the complete pattern of interaction and support between the non-custodial parent and his former family (Braver - R01HD19383; Landesman- R01HD 19348; Michael - R01HD18288; Maccoby- R01 HD19386). This is because each party is inclined to overestimate their contribution to the family and to underestimate the contribution of their ex-spouse. In addition, each parent may see their behavior in a different context and, therefore, they may give different, yet true, answers to the same questions. For example, questions regarding the payment of child support may mean different things to each parent depending on whether they count in-kind transfers and how they measure the regularity of payment over time. Research on unwed fathers is likely to be affected by these factors as well, and future research is needed to address this issue.

There are several studies now underway that will provide some information on unwed fathers and will also provide public use data sets that should be useful for a variety of research purposes concerning unwed fathers. Each study will be discussed in brief below and interested parties can contact Dr. Jeffery Evans of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development for more details regarding these studies. [(301) 496-1174]

The National Survey of Families and Households conducted by Dr. Larry Bumpass at the University of Wisconsin is a random survey of 13,000 adults concerning their family and living arrangements. It is oversampled for minority groups and family types. It includes a detailed family history as well as a variety of other information regarding family dynamics. It will be available for public use in the summer of 1988. This survey should identify some unwed fathers and families of unwed fathers and could help us understand how unwed fathers and their families differ with respect to married and divorced fathers and their families.

The National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 was followed up for the fifth time in 1986. This study was conducted by the U.S. Department of Education and NICHD augmented the survey to obtain additional information on persons who have experienced marital disruptions as well as unmarried persons with children. The survey is representative of all those who were high school seniors in 1972 and will be available for public use in the winter of 1988. Tapes and documentation can be obtained from the U.S. Department of Education. This survey will provide a longitudinal perspective on the life of individuals who were unmarried parents as compared to those who were not and should provide insight into what differences an out-of-wedlock birth made to men and women in terms of their educational, social and economic development.

The Youth Cohort of the National Longitudinal Survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor which has been mentioned elsewhere in this report has been augmented by NICHD to include much information on family dynamics and the affective, social and cognitive development of their children. This study focuses on a younger group of parents than the NLS of 1972 and is better able to deal with low socio-economic status parents. As this survey unfolds, we will be better able to understand the ramifications of unwed parenthood for both the parents and their children. The cohort is surveyed regularly and it is hoped that their children will be also. The first wave of data on the children's development will be available in the winter of 1988 from the Ohio State University which is the regular outlet for the NLS.

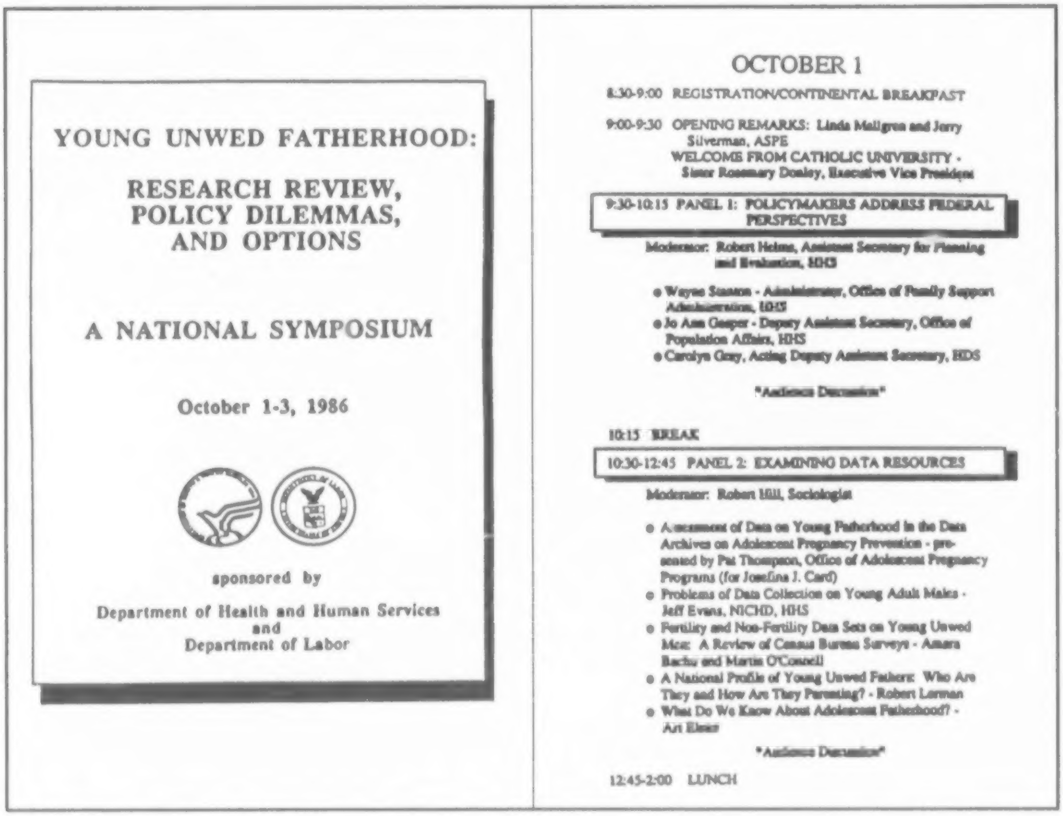
The National Survey of Children was initiated in 1976 to obtain information on the physical, psychological and social well-being of children aged 6-11. NICHD supported a third follow-up of these children in 1986 under the direction of Kristin Moore of Child Trends, Inc. In 1986, these children will be the nation's newest cohort of parents and the survey is focused on how these children build relationships and start families. A small yet useful number of unwed parents are expected to be identified in the study and will yield an intimate look at these young parents. These data will be made available through the Data Archive on Adolescent Pregnancy and Pregnancy Prevention which has been described elsewhere in the report.

A new national survey of 1,500 adolescent males aged 15-19 is being conducted by Freya Sonnenstein at Brandeis University. The study will focus on male sexual and contraceptive behavior as conditioned by his attitudes, knowledge and past experience, including pregnancy. The public use data tape should be available in 1989.

Appendix D: National Invitational Symposium

Appendix D:

National Invitational Symposium
October 1-3, 1986
Program Agenda



YOUNG UNWED FATHERHOOD:

RESEARCH REVIEW,
POLICY DILEMMAS,
AND OPTIONS

A NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

October 1-3, 1986

sponsored by

Department of Health and Human Services
and
Department of Labor

OCTOBER 1

8:30-9:00 REGISTRATION/CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST

9:00-9:30 OPENING REMARKS: Linda Mellgren and Jerry Silverman, ASPE
WELCOME FROM CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY - Sister Rosemary Donley, Executive Vice President

9:30-10:15 PANEL 1: POLICYMAKERS ADDRESS FEDERAL PERSPECTIVES

Moderator: Robert Helms, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, HHS

- Wayne Stanton - Administrator, Office of Family Support Administration, HHS
- Jo Ann Gasper - Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of Population Affairs, HHS
- Carolyn Gray, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, HDS

"Audience Discussion"

10:15 BREAK

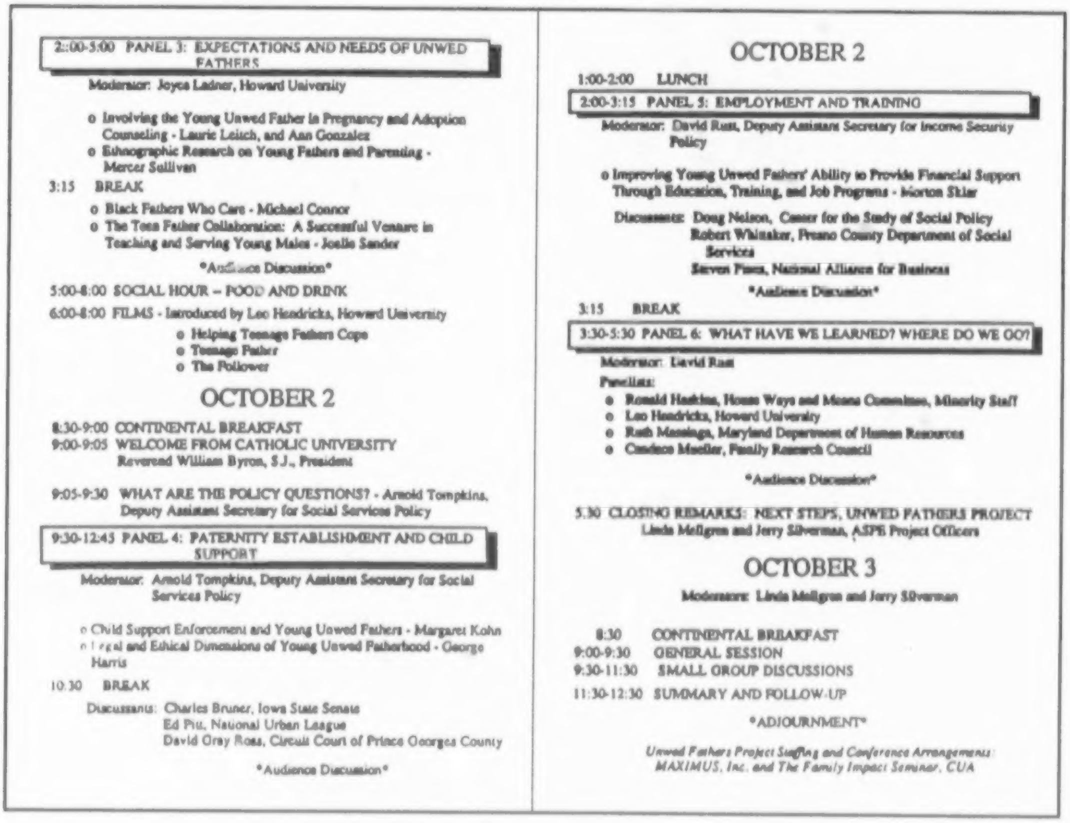
10:30-12:45 PANEL 2: EXAMINING DATA RESOURCES

Moderator: Robert Hill, Sociologist

- Assessment of Data on Young Fatherhood in the Data Archives on Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention - presented by Pat Thompson, Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs (for Josefina J. Card)
- Problems of Data Collection on Young Adult Males - Jeff Evans, NICHD, HHS
- Fertility and Non-Fertility Data Sets on Young Unwed Men: A Review of Census Bureau Surveys - Amara Bachu and Martin O'Connell
- A National Profile of Young Unwed Fathers: Who Are They and How Are They Parenting? - Robert Lerman
- What Do We Know About Adolescent Fatherhood? - Art Elster

"Audience Discussion"

12:45-2:00 LUNCH



2::00-5:00 PANEL 3: EXPECTATIONS AND NEEDS OF UNWED FATHERS

Moderator: Joyce Ladner, Howard University

- o Involving the Young Unwed Father in Pregnancy and Adoption Counseling - Laurie Leitch, and Ann Gonzalez
- o Ethnographic Research on Young Fathers and Parenting - Mercer Sullivan

3:15 BREAK

- o Black Fathers Who Care - Michael Connor
- o The Teen Father Collaboration: A Successful Venture in Teaching and Serving Young Males - Joelle Sander

Audience Discussion

5:00-8:00 SOCIAL HOUR -- FOOD AND DRINK

6:00-8:00 FILMS - Introduced by Leo Hendricks, Howard University

- o Helping Teenage Fathers Cope
- o Teenage Father
- o The Follower

OCTOBER 2

8:30-9:00 CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
9:00-9:05 WELCOME FROM CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
Reverend William Byron, S.J., President

9:05-9:30 WHAT ARE THE POLICY QUESTIONS? - Arnold Tompkins, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Social Services Policy

9:30-12:45 PANEL 4: PATERNITY ESTABLISHMENT AND CHILD SUPPORT

Moderator: Arnold Tompkins, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Social Services Policy

- o Child Support Enforcement and Young Unwed Fathers - Margaret Kohn
- o Legal and Ethical Dimensions of Young Unwed Fatherhood - George Harris

10:30 BREAK

Discussants: Charles Bruner, Iowa State Senate
Ed Pitt, National Urban League
David Gray Ross, Circuit Court of Prince Georges County

Audience Discussion

OCTOBER 2

1:00-2:00 LUNCH

2:00-3:15 PANEL 5: EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

Moderator: David Rust, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Income Security Policy

- o Improving Young Unwed Fathers' Ability to Provide Financial Support Through Education, Training, and Job Programs - Morton Sklar

Discussants: Doug Nelson, Center for the Study of Social Policy
Robert Whitaker, Fresno County Department of Social Services
Steven Pines, National Alliance for Business

Audience Discussion

3:15 BREAK

3:30-5:30 PANEL 6: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED? WHERE DO WE GO?

Moderator: David Rust

Panelists:

- Ronald Haskins, House Ways and Means Committee, Minority Staff
- Leo Hendricks, Howard University
- Ruth Massinga, Maryland Department of Human Resources
- Candace Mueller, Family Research Council

Audience Discussion

5:30 CLOSING REMARKS: NEXT STEPS, UNWED FATHERS PROJECT
Linda Mellgren and Jerry Silverman, ASPE Project Officers

OCTOBER 3

Moderators: Linda Mellgren and Jerry Silverman

8:30 CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
9:00-9:30 GENERAL SESSION
9:30-11:30 SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS
11:30-12:30 SUMMARY AND FOLLOW-UP

ADJOURNMENT

Unwed Fathers Project Staffing and Conference Arrangements:
MAXIMUS, Inc. and The Family Impact Seminar, CUA

Appendix E:
List of Participants

Appendix E:
List Of Participants

Young Unwed Fatherhood Symposium

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